

THE BLACK PANTHER

25
cents

Black Community News Service

VOL. IV NO. 27

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1970

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



"OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING MURDERED IN FRONT OF OUR EYES BY THESE TORMENTING CONDITIONS; THERE IS NO PLACE TO ESCAPE THE FRUSTRATION. IT BUBBLES OVER, INTO THE BLOOD OF OUR CHILDREN WHO ARE MOST AFFECTED BY THIS SICKNESS. THIS CANCER IS CALLED CAPITALISM."

HOUSING CONDITIONS: CAPITALISM AND OUR CHILDREN

STORY PAGE 2

POINT NUMBER NO. 4 OF THE
10 POINT PROGRAM AND
PLATFORM OF THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY

We want decent housing, fit
for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give
decent housing to our black community, then the
housing and the land should be made into
cooperatives so that our community, with government
aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

HOUSING CONDITIONS CAPITALISM & OUR CHILDREN

AN INTRODUCTION OF A SERIES OF
ARTICLES FROM BROWNSVILLE, NY



"OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING MURDERED IN FRONT OF OUR EYES BY THESE TORMENTING CONDITIONS; THERE IS NO PLACE TO ESCAPE THE FRUSTRATION. IT BUBBLES OVER, INTO THE BLOOD OF OUR CHILDREN WHO ARE MOST AFFECTED BY THIS SICKNESS. THIS CANCER IS CALLED CAPITALISM."

May 29, 1970

Brownsville, a community located deep in the heart of Brooklyn, has the heaviest concentration of Black and Puerto Rican people in Babylon. Its ratio of oppressive living conditions is equally as startling. It is known in the colony as the last stop. Gunsmoke! It is known in pig circles as a "high crime area". The place where you need no excuse to murder! Shumlords need not even make a semblance of being interested! There is not a block where at least one house is not either already demolished, or in the process of being demolished! It is not an uncommon thing to find an apartment building where all of the windows are broken out! The entire community is reminiscent of Warsaw--after the bombings. (Black people are living in houses like the ones above and on the cover of your paper.)

Brooklyn, like Harlem, is being prepared for an industrial takeover. The filthy businessmen cannot do this until the people have been either burned out, bombed out, or shot out. Ocean Hill - Brownsville is nothing more than a giant death trap. Children play among charred wood and broken glass, as though they were roses. Families sleep with one eye open hoping a dope fiend will not notice that there is no glass in the fire escape window. Little fingers are cut, not on just little pieces of glass, but on steel beams, that have become too corroded to hold a roof up!

Our children are being murdered in front of our eyes by these tormenting conditions; there is no place to escape the frustration. It bubbles over, into the blood of our children who are most affected by this sickness. This cancer is called CAPITALISM. We, Black People, are conspiring to end this genocide. We are all conspirators in a battle to annihilate those who are responsible for this mass murder. We will have our liberation, or Babylon will collapse in a sea of blood!

FIGHT ON! AFENI SHAKUR

In October 1966, two Black men of the streets in California made history. They started building an organization, a Party, based on meeting the basic needs, and desires of their people, the poor and oppressed Black people--in what is now appropriately named--Babylon. Underneath the rubbish, debris, the shattered, broken bits and pieces of homes, out of the garbage-urine stench filled hallways, down the passageway of broken glass and decaying wood and cement, pass the avenues of junkies, hustlers, winos, pimps and prostitutes--came the roar of the PANTHER to be heard far above the pleading cries of the oppressed Black people. So loud was this roar and so terrible the wrath it carried, that it shook the entire capitalist world! It has moved to bring the pigs of the power structure down on their knees before the courts of the people.

Within the three years since the birth of the Black Panther Party, the roar of the Panther has echoed the oppression in the Black colony. The wrath of the Panther has reached thundering heights as the nature of racist and decadent America is unveiled and revealed to the people.

The Panthers' heart beats in the Black colony; the Black ghetto! Yes, that is where you will hear the pounding of the mighty Panthers' heart--multiplied millions of times by the quickening of the people's heart beat each time a pig rides through the Black community. Each time the familiar red flashing light tears through the Black jungle; each time an illegal arrest is made in the Black colony we should fill our eyes with the sight of the conditions we, in the colony are forced to live in, we should fill our nostrils with the foul odor of stale urine and decaying garbage overflowing in our streets and hallways and all of this should serve to accelerate our energies towards the total destruction of the power structure that serves those who exploit and oppress us. Their heads served on a silver platter is not good enough. Black people must gain the complete satisfaction of chopping that head off and throwing the remains into a huge pot to be bar-be-qued.

Our youth, our Black children, our young Black warriors must have examples to follow! For too long their playgrounds have been vacant lots (lots vacant of everything except rubbish, debris and rats and snakes). For too long, our children have been admitted into jive institutions label "hospitals", to be treated for "Ghetto diseases"; diseases that the capitalists are directly responsible for (lead poisoning, rat bites, anemia, etc.).

In order to rid our community of the filth and disease the Black community is plagued with, we must first deal with the source of these problems; the distinct line of demarcation; that thin blue line that separates and divides the oppressed Black colony from the racist mother country. This calls for a united stand, by the people forming a Black army within the gut of the monster and putting the unquestionable strength of their millions against the few lackeys of this paper power structure.

In order to make a beginning, in order to deliver a positive political punch in the gut of this oppressive power structure, a first step in the Black community must be made, that step being towards determining the future of

BROWNSVILLE



CONTRADICTIONS IN THE LAND OF PLENTY

that community and that future being decided upon by the colonized people. We're talking now about land power, political power, economic power, community power, and community control. Community control of every aspect of that community by the people, be it economic or political. When we, Black people, speak of controlling our destinies we must in the same breath speak of delivering a political consequence, because there will be those who will stand in our way and oppose us, refusing to get up off of the gold mine, which ironically is the oppressed Black



Brownsville, U.S.A. or Capetown South Africa

community. Black gold--the history of Black people in racist Babylon, from medieval slavery to modern day colonialization. There is not a section in the Black colony which does not reflect the decay of a capitalist community. Brownsville, a section in Brooklyn, N.Y. shows definite signs of the presence of capitalist oppressors. The picture on the cover, speaks clearly on how the young Black and Puerto Rican youths in this community have been forced to live, play, fight, grow and possibly survive in the most subhuman conditions imaginable. There are no more games for the children of Brownsville, such as hide and seek. Playing that child's game in Brownsville becomes a matter of searching for young broken bodies, hidden under the rotten wood, falling plaster and cement of an aban-

doned apartment building, turned playground. Or perhaps seeking for two youngsters lost, seen romping through a vacant lot, not too far from where construction workers were tearing down another decaying building.

These are the games that the racist avaricious democracy provides for our youth. They're our children, our future! Don't allow your heart to bleed for them, have your blood boil. Have it boil to the point where you wipe the shoe polish off your lips and brush the dust off your knees and tell the racist slumlords when they come to your door, their greedy jaws dripping with blood, that you refuse to be robbed by him any longer, and that if he wants rent money from you he will have to reconstruct the entire apartment building, and that includes smoking the rats and mice out of the walls. Demand action or deliver action. Tell that fool landlord responsible for all of those scattered vacant lots throughout Brownsville that he no longer owns that land, that in fact he stole it from you and you are taking it back as an overdue payment of the 40 acres and two mules his grandfather promised yours. Organize a committee to clean away the debris and garbage present in those lots and level that land to build a people's park and playground for our children. Go to the avaricious, greedy, racist, businessmen in the community and demand that they get up off some playground equipment or take his roguish business out of the Black community. Build and continue to build. If the pigs try to talk you out of owning and controlling your community, build over them. If the demagogic politician tries to talk you out of determining your destiny, run him out of your community. And if the racist dog oppressor dares stand in your way, arm yourselves and shoot to kill.

We will have land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice or the racist dogs of Babylon will have no peace.

The roar of the Panther is the voice of the angry Black people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Brooklyn Branch
D. Jenkins

Interview with Attorney

Charles R. Garry

CONCERNING THE REVERSAL
OF THE CONVICTION
OF THE MINISTER OF
DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON



Charles R. Garry

Q. When did you hear the news about the reversal of Huey's conviction?

A. This is Charles Garry and I'm being interviewed by Miss Brenda Presley and Mrs. Shellie Bursey. I heard the news about the reversal of the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton at 10:00 Friday night when I was in Westport, Connecticut where I had gone down for a conference with the lawyers in the New Haven, Connecticut

case. Associated Press called me and told me that the Appellate Court had reversed the conviction and they wanted to know if I had any comment to make about it. I said, "Yes, I do have a comment to make about it. 'First of all', I said, 'I am very happy that the conviction has been reversed.' 'But', I said, 'I'm angry! Because, for two and a half years an innocent man has had to stay in prison and that this

is a common thing that happens to Black Americans and particularly Black militant Americans.

And, I said, "It's no solace to be able to say that justice has finally reached us when he's already served as much time as the normal person serves on a manslaughter conviction. The reversal means that Huey P. Newton has to go back to trial again. And of course, this time he can only be tried for manslaughter and no other charges. This morning, Monday, June 1st, I filed a motion for an application for bail in the same court that reversed the conviction. The application for bail resites the fact that this court has reversed the conviction and we want bail pending determination finally on appeal. The decision of the court in reversing the case will not become final for sixty days. And I'm sure that the Attorney General and the District Attorney's office in Alameda County will use every means they can to keep Huey Newton in jail as long as they can, and they will probably make bail so prohibited that it will be a king's ransom to get him out. Whatever the amount is in the way of bail--it is ransom! There is no reason in the world why Huey Newton should not be released on his own recognizance."

Q. Will Huey be transferred to another prison?

A. I don't know. Once the sixty days are up and the reversal is final and there's no bail, he'll be transferred to Alameda County Jail where he was before.

Q. Do you know when a new trial will start?

A. The new trial will not start until my calendar permits it: Charles R. Garry's calendar. My court calendar. And you know what's ahead of it before Huey Newton's case comes up, Bobby Seale and the Connecticut Panthers.

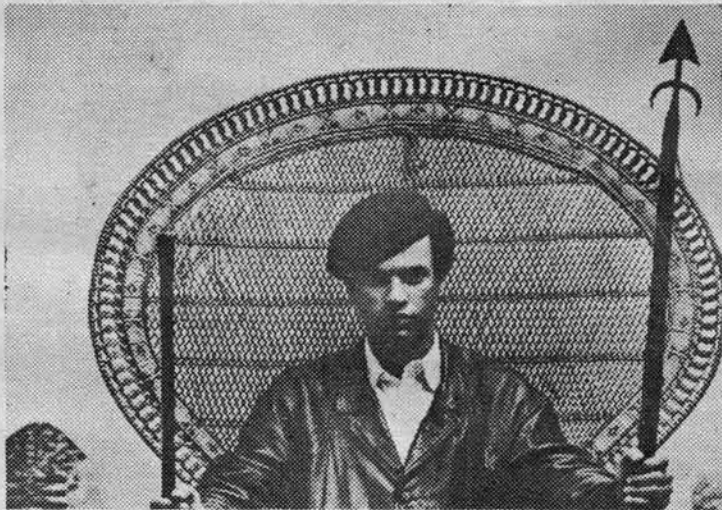
Q. What do you think changed the attitudes of the courts after we had stated all along that Huey was innocent?

A. Well, nothing changed. We knew that the Appellate Court was going to reverse this case. I said so all along. They had to reverse it. You see, even though Huey Newton is a political prisoner and a prisoner of war, there were so many fundamental legal points that they could not afford to change just to get one man. It would not serve their purpose; he's already put in two and a half years both in jail and the penitentiary. And they've had their cake. Now they've got to find some other way of vamping over Huey and the Party. You see, they know that there is just so much they can do. We know their rules and we know exactly how to overcome their rules. That's the reason why the case was reversed. I knew it was going to be reversed. I knew it couldn't stand up. This judge and the prosecuting attorney who tried the case knew the case was going to be reversed. But they didn't care. They wanted him in jail no matter what the cost was. That's what burns me up! That's what infuriates me so much about this case.

Q. On what grounds was the case reversed?

A. The case was reversed on four fundamental grounds. Number one was the fact that, if you recall, Huey Newton testified that at the time that he was shot he didn't remember anything else. He was rendered unconscious. And I put on Dr. Diamond to testify that this kind of a traumatic shock,

MESSAGE FROM HUEY JUNE 2, 1970



Minister of Defense,

This is Huey P. Newton at San Louis Obispo, June 2, I'm here with Fay Stender and Charles Garry, and I'm very happy to be here to talk to you today, this is a very important day. Soon if things go well I'll be with you again; and All power to the people for that, because the people are the writers of all history, world history, and they've simply added another page to the book. I think that the courts were forced to reverse my case because of the influence the political influence that the people had upon them, and also my very fine counsel Charles Garry, and Fay Stender. They did a great job with the case. I feel that the only partial victory has been won. In other words I'm not really being released from prison, that I'm being transferred for institutional convenience, as they say, from maximum security to medium security. Because our community and the communities of the world are now prison camps, all because of aggression of U.S. imperialism, and bureaucratic capitalism here at home. That the fight has just started actually to change the conditions that destroy life, and that is our life's work. We will just intensify the struggle, and make the people aware that it's their power that makes the change in the course of history, and the conditions under which we live. And if the people like what they've done this time, then I'm asking them to do it again by freeing Bobby Seale, Lonnie McLucas, Ericka Huggins, Margaret Huggins, Frances Carter, Landon Williams, Rory Hith, and George Edwards, from the clutches of the fascist in New Haven. We also must free Fitzgerald from the death roll at San Quentin, the Soledad brothers, George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Clutchette. Also our brothers in San Francisco, the Los Siete De La Raza brothers. We have so many brothers in prison that I'm bound to leave some out, but I'm attempting to enumerate all those who are coming up for immediate trial. We have 21 brothers in New York and we must get their immediate release. I personally plan

to go to the United Nations and to the people of the world to see to it that as much attention and concern will be aroused as

possible because we must always realize that the people have the power, or the potential power and without that knowledge we don't have the rudimentary knowledge. With the weapon of the people we know that we're due for eventual victory, and it is the capitalistic and the speculators who's the gambler, and we're betting on sure things which is in fact not gambling, because we've observed the course of history; and we're as sure to win as the fact of the sun coming up, or the fact that the sun came up yesterday. The capitalist are betting that it will come up tomorrow, but we only bet on the historical fact, and history shows that the people have the power and they always respond in their best interest eventually. Also we would ask the United Nations to allow our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver to come under the immunity that the United Nations has the power to give dignitaries of governments, and also political exiles, in order to hear their testimony. This is not an extraordinary request from the United Nations, because its presidented that its happened before and I'm sure with the solidarity that we have with the people of the world as a National Liberation Movement, they will see to it that the United Nations gives us this consideration. This will be working toward the return of our Minister of Information to this country, which will happen eventually. So these are the immediate thing that we will do. The other thing that we must place much emphasis on is the release of all political prisoners, and in order to do this we will concentrate upon organizing our bus program, our bus for prison parents and relatives so that they will be able to visit their loved ones. And also we will organize the parents into a very strong political force. A lobby group to observe the conditions of these corrupt prisons and also to go to the various corrupt officials and let them know that the people have their eyes on them. They're no longer in the dark, doing their treachery in the dark, but it will be in the light of the awareness and the political consciousness of the people, that have the ability to change all society. We must put much emphasis on this, because just as we're being persecuted there are brothers and sisters persecuted in all of the jails who we've never heard of, and the authorities are very happy about it, but the authorities are wrong, the Party will bring all of the injustices of the evil gentry and corrupt officials to the light of day. All power to the people, and I plan to see you very soon.

Huey P. Newton

Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

CONT. ON PAGE 10

URBAN GUERRILLAS

America's complexity will be her downfall, for complex power, communications and transportation networks are unprotected. These systems are the life lines of the industrial and military might of U.S.A. fascism. The source of America's strength is its vulnerable Achilles heel--therefore urban guerrillas, utilizing and relying on information divulged by sympathetic workers, can halt or severely cripple every industry in the nation, and bring fascism crashing to its knees. The dams, power stations, substations and power lines are vulnerable. Highly sophisticated communications networks are used by our enemies for carrying out routine business, and are an extremely important factor, in the fascist reaction to guerilla strikes. The neutralization of the fascist communications lie within the capabilities of urban guerrillas.

The disruption of this system would hamper and cripple not only the fascist military but would also effect all industrial outputs. The fascist ruling clique realizes the vulnerability of their transportation networks, yet all fascist military forces and industry utilize the railways, the state and interstate highway systems and the airports. Urban guerrillas can cut and constantly harass these important links.

Urban guerilla teams highly motivated have already begun to put their theory into practice. Lists are being compiled and are constantly updated on fascist and all enemies of our people, because the location and identification of the enemy is an extremely vital task of urban guerrillas. This basic intelligence is necessary for planning retaliatory strikes against our enemies. Where their killer groups, for the most, will be unable to locate guerrillas, urban guerrillas will, in every attack hit the fascist squarely on the chin. Urban guerrillas, being one with the people, must attack like skilled brain surgeons--cutting out the diseased tissue while preserving the good. Their dual purpose is that of destroying all fascist forces and their lackeys, while protecting and serving our people. The fascist ruling clique fears this. They know the Party is preparing to fight until the last of our enemies bites the dust. The Party has dared to take the vanguard role in the struggle and will surely defeat U.S.A. fascism no matter what the odds, no matter how great the sacrifice. The Party is aware that the fascists will never lay down their arms of their own accord. And also aware of the direction that U.S.A. fascism is taking in order to survive as long as possible.

In Brazil, the guerilla forces found through social practice that they could best achieve the goal of liberating their people from the



RANDY WILLIAMS, POLITICAL PRISONER

strong-hold imposed by the fascist Brazilian oligarchy by waging urban guerilla warfare. Brazil's development as an industrial fascist nation and the economic and social backwardness of the indigenous peasants made the revolutionary forces adapt the strategy of urban guerrilla warfare. The urban guerrillas moved to mobilize the workers, and implement urban guerrilla warfare within the context of their historical experiences with the working class and the fascist ruling class oligarchy. The revolutionary forces have implemented this type of struggle which invariably catches the fascists with their pants down. The type of warfare which turns the asphalt concrete and steel of cities into jungles; into cemeteries for the fascist highly mechanized units and turns his weapons of mass slaughter into paper tigers; into urban jungles where the revolutionary forces can plunge the blade into the hilt in the vulnerable life lines of even fascist U.S.A. In this country as well as in Brazil the fascists tremble with dread at the thought of nationwide attacks by urban guerrilla forces.

In the Pentagon and select centers scattered throughout the U.S.A., gigantic multimillion dollar computers are manned by hordes of the military. Technicians wrestle with fascism's nightmare the problem of dealing with urban guerrillas. These machines can only reach an hypothesis drawn from information fed into them. In order for the fascists to test the solutions offered by the computer, they must first circumvent

the frail facade of the constitution and the bill of rights. The fascists realize that if these two pieces of paper were implemented they would be in their graves tonight because the constitution and the bill of rights contain the moral impetus necessary to bring this foul evil economic and social system to its doom.

U.S.A. fascists have compiled and are still evaluating information received from South American satellite states who are being beset by courageous urban guerrillas waging relentless struggle with amazing (to fascists) and stunning success. Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, has said that we still have a little time left because the U.S.A. fascist ruling clique hasn't programmed all of the people to accept the genocide of the Party and our people yet. For at least a year now, there have appeared in every major newspaper, seemingly innocent space fillers. Articles from UPI-API dealing with the deployment of fascist death squads against the revolutionary forces in South America.

These fillers had the sinister purpose of preparing America for the advent of death squads now in operation in every major urban center. These articles were to prepare the people to accept the first overt actions of the Chicago foul fascist gestapo killer unit. Their

objective was to evaluate the response of the people to above ground counter-insurgency killer groups--to see if the people were conditioned to accept the outright fascist terror tactics directed officially by the fascist ruling clique.

Our Party has been and is still the main target of a national dehumanizing campaign. The fascist controlled news media has consistently maligned, viciously attacked and branded our Party as a racist band of blood-thirsty murderers out for their own personal gain. The fascist news media seeks to justify the fascist's program of destroying our people's first line of defense, the Party, and all other organizations which refuse to be either bought off with blood money or intimidated by the repressive fascist forces. The fascist attempts to isolate our Party from the people has been a dismal failure. The liquidation of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark had top priority on the fascist's pig list. However, neither the people nor our Party were cowed or intimidated by the bestial slaying of these two revolutionaries. The fascist ruling clique made a grave error in underestimating the will of the people and our Party. People from all walks of life and every progressive organization saw through the fascist attempts to isolate and destroy their Party. The people mo-

Angeles, Southern California Chapter of our Party, came under attack by fascist killer groups. Although outnumbered and using inferior weapons, our Party repelled and held at bay the fascist shock troops and sounded the end of Chicago type operations in a fuselage of bullets. We learned valuable lessons paid for with the blood of our revolutionary comrades. The fascist ruling clique has seen the support, that their homicidal raids have generated for the Party. They now know that if conditions are favorable, they will receive tit for tat and then some. They now know that Black and all progressive people will not sit idly by and pacify the action of above ground killer groups. Fascists have tried to rally the support of the American people to their avowed aims and failed.

Now begins the phase of underground, clandestine operation of fascist directed killer groups. This is all part of the nature of the fascist ruling clique. The fascists will no doubt expand the techniques of their South American lackeys who operate unrestricted, unswayed by either democratic institutions or public opinion. As the tempo of the struggle increases so will the fascist acts of reactionary terror and violence increase. The primary target of forming clandestine kill groups will be both our people and our Party. If we are to survive as a people, this next phase of attacks, and pave the way to victory, it is imperative that our people be armed with the ideology of the Party. For only then will our people be able to cope with, both, ideological and physical attacks initiated by the insane fascist ruling clique. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, said that our Party must be a living shield that stands between our people and the fascist pigs and that our paper should serve to educate our people so that they will survive.

As the attacks against the Party escalate, so must the awareness of our people be channelled toward acceptance and even more, active participation in urban guerrilla warfare. Phase two of the fascist plans will surely and soundly be defeated. The fascists will awake to find themselves bogged down on that last front. They will be swallowed up in the morass of a people's war. Their graves will be dug by revolutionary urban guerrilla forces amidst the asphalt, concrete and steel of the cities.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DEFEAT U.S.A. FASCISM ON
EVERY FRONT**

**WE'LL ALL BE TOGETHER ON
THE DAY OF VICTORY**

Randy Williams,
Political Prisoner



**REVOLUTIONARY HANDIWORK OF THE
URBAN GUERRILLA**

predawn kill all--destroy all mission was launched as a pilot, an experimental operation with a two fold objective. One was to put counter-revolutionary theory into practice in America --to bring into the streets the fascist ruling clique's solution to the Party--to test and evaluate the techniques of counter-insurgency urban warfare. The second important

bilized and rallied mass support for the Party and soundly condemned the actions of Chicago's fascist killer groups.

Make trouble, fail, make trouble, fail again until their doom. This is the logic of fascists the world over. In Chicago, they refused to acknowledge the bankruptcy of their counter-insurgency campaign. In December, in Los

IT'S TIME TO DRAW THE LINE

"No greater love has a man for his people than to lay down his life for them." It is thought to be a myth that there are human beings who are self-less, with an all embracing love for their fellow man. In the colony there are people who believe that anyone who demonstrates these type of feelings are either shooting a game or are fools. This is to say that after years of brain-washing, our people find it hard to tell friend from foe, those who are real and those who are phonies. We say that social practice is the criterion for the truth. Do not fear it.

History has shown us that those strongest in their convictions and move to implement them are dealt the heaviest blows. Now once again the butcher has raised his bloody knife to kill those who will not bend or fall on their knees before the altar of monopoly capitalism and racist oppression. In the controlled news media is the law and order campaign being waged in the courts when possible and in the early morning hours, (which is preferred by the pigs).

It is time to ask why such a relentless struggle is being waged against the Black Panther Party? Are we to believe the like of the vice pig Agnew that the Black Panther Party are criminals out to destroy the American way of life? Why you may ask does the Ten Point Platform and Program have the interest of the people at heart, while the American way of life (racist oppression, exploitation, and dehumanization) is designed to rob the people of their human dignity.

This mad beast, American fascism, has been exposed with the blood dripping from its jaws as one after another of our comrades have fallen in defense of the idea of freedom and love for their people. These revolutionaries, the highest form of humanity on the planet earth, have made the supreme sacrifice not for personal gain but for the dignity of man. The social practice of the Black Panther Party is here for the people to see. All the programs implemented by the Black Panther Party are to meet the basic needs and desires of the people. In order for these

programs to continue and the Ten Point Platform and Program to become a reality we must survive. In order to survive in this environment, which is hostile to Black people in particular, it is necessary to have a survival kit in this case a gun. It was out of love for his people that Huey P. Newton said, "An unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any given time". The brothers who have fallen and the brothers and sisters confined in racist pig pens did not want to see their people slaves for this they have been murdered and imprisoned. Now the people must draw the line and say enough. We will avenge our dead but will not sacrifice our living.

**REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY
SOLUTION!**
Albert Washington
Political Prisoner
Pueblo State Mental Institution

NOTATION

Albert Washington is a right on brother with a lot of good poten-

tial. For approximately a year he was incarcerated in Denver County jail with Landon Williams and Rory Hith, two Panthers who are presently awaiting extradition to Connecticut on trumped up charges of murder etc. (In connection with Brother Alex Rackley's pig murder). Albert has been sentenced to twenty years for robbery and has been committed to the Pueblo State Mental Institution because the fascist courts have declared him insane. Insane for what? The brother is a revolutionary and openly told the fascist pigs, "Off the pigs!" Brother Albert Washington is now in maximum security for which there is a minimum period, with good behavior, of six months. Thereby if his conduct is considered good enough he will be allowed freedom of the grounds. Who are the judges?

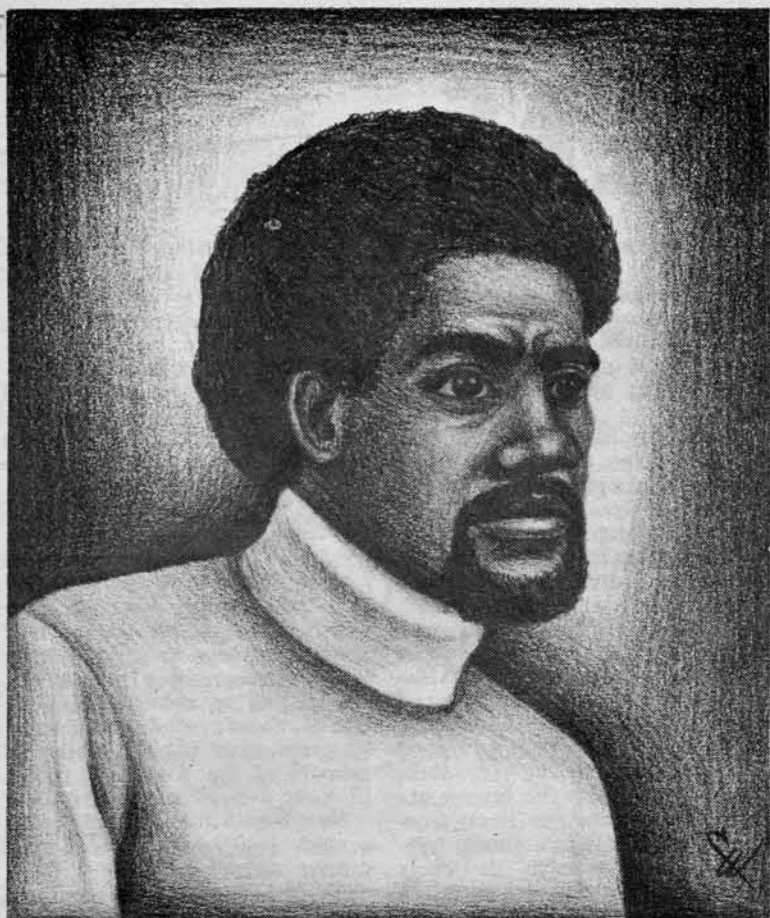
**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
FREE ALL POLITICAL
PRISONERS!
FREE CHAIRMAN BOBBY!**
Colorado Chapter
Black Panther Party

THE APOLOGY TO THE PEOPLE

**WE, THE DEVASTATIONS
WOULD LIKE
TO EXTEND OUR
MOST GRACIOUS
APOLOGIES TO THE
BLACK COMMUNITY
OF THE HUNTER'S
POINT AREA OF S.F.
FOR OUR FAILURE TO
APPEAR IN HONOR OF
OUR MOST BELOVED
BROTHER, MALCOLM
X, ON MAY 19, 1970,
AT THE PEOPLES
RALLY.**

**ALL POWER TO THE
PEOPLE**

S.K.



POLITICAL PRISONER, U.S.A.

COME SEE ABOUT BOBBY!

Through our 400 years of continuous murder and exploitation, the songs and dances of Black people have served not only to tell the story of our people, but from time to time to release the tensions and frustrations caused by this wall of oppression.

Rock and Roll, in part, is a product of the modern day urban ghetto--is a product of the niggers from the streets. So when we, the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, presented a benefit for Bobby last Tuesday night, May 26th at Patrick's Peyton Place, a nightclub on Western Avenue, we especially welcomed the talents of such groups as the Young Hearts, Bell Tones, etc. We were glad for the opportunity to talk about Bobby Seale in this particular arena, because it is from the urban streets that our Party arose.

Elaine Brown, Deputy Minister of Information, Southern California Chapter, spoke to the people, who related to Chairman Bobby. Not only did approximately 300 people come to relax and enjoy themselves, but they did it knowing that it was all for Bobby and in fact all Black people.

The Dynamic Young Hearts, one

of the groups who donated their talent for the liberation struggle of Black people defined the overall feeling there in one of their songs, "I've Got Love For My Baby". Only this time they sang "I've Got Love For My People". They did this particularly because John Huggins, our slain Deputy Minister of Information had liked this song, and had sung the lyrics that way.

It was a beautiful sight to see that part of our culture exemplified also in the works of the Bell Tones, who secured the club, for us, the Sinceres, the Naturelles, who took time out from a previous engagement to perform, Terrible Tom, and the Young Hearts Band. It was beautiful because all the groups used their ability and talent of gathering together the sound and feeling of the Black ghetto to fulfill the needs of the people.

To the Young Hearts, the Bell Tones, The Sinceres, Terrible Tom, the Naturelles, The Young Hearts Band, and all those who came, we say RIGHT ON!

LIBERATE BOBBY

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

WE WILL FIGHT AS ONE

This week, as always, the self appointed gods of American justice, Murtagh and Phillips stretched out their tentacles to stifle innocent Black people. It is becoming more apparent that there is no real case against the N.Y. 21, Phillips and Murtagh, have gone to a mental ward and collaborated numerous super spy stories of Melodramatic crap. Just as George Sams is a mental delect, so in the case of the 21 is Sean Dubonnet! One of his hallucinations include a fairy tale where the local school board of Ocean Hill Brownsville and its president Brother Rhody McCoy negotiate a deal with the Black Panther Party, to assassinate racist Albert Shanker, for \$15,000. This fabrication was retorted by the Brooklyn acting Assistant D.A. When asked if he thought the information given to him was true he emphatically shouted "yes", of course its true. (Yet no one was arrested).

Colonized subjects of racist

Babylon, understand that the oppressor makes no differentiation between Black Panthers and Black people! When the vanguard is attacked, the people are also attacked. When Panthers are bound and gagged in courts, the people are also bound and gagged, (remember Philadelphia). When Panthers are shot down like dogs, the people are also shot down like dogs. We are oppressed as one. We are exploited as one. We are hated as one. And we will fight as one! There can be no separation of the people and the revolutionary! June 19, 1970 Black colonial subjects of America, will converge on Washington, D.C. to formulate a Constitutional Convention! We will determine the destinies of our people, because we feel that all men are created equal and endowed with unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness! Because we know that man cannot live without food, shelter and clothing, because we know

that we do not enjoy the liberty necessary to pursue happiness; because we believe that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (e.g. Fred Hampton, Kent State, Jackson State Malcolm, Martin, Bobby Seale, The N.Y. 21, Martin Sostre, etc), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its power on such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Because Black people have been subjected to a long train of abuses and usurpations, we feel it is our duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for our future security!

SEIZE THE TIME

Afeni Shakur

EXPOSING THE FASCIST PIG STATE IN BALTIMORE

The vicious use of state terror to suppress the legitimate struggles and assemblies of the people of Baltimore must be denounced and exposed by all the people, in order to halt the trend of brutality and injustice that leads to our destruction and tightens the noose of fascist repression around this city. On Wednesday, May 13, 1970, the shock trooper police forces, pig commissioner Donald Pomerleau intimidated, brutalized and then allegedly arrested (kidnapped) participants and observers at the flower mart, held at Mt. Vernon place, who by their so called constitutional rights, were guaranteed the right to peaceful assembly! Those who had assembled for the flower mart became the innocent victims of the unprovoked attack of hostile racist dog policemen, who were sent there as mercenary witch hunting agents of Mafioso Mayor "Tired" D'Alesandro, and fascist lap dog Pomerleau. Just like the hordes of Hitler, these criminal and racist pig elements here in Baltimore, aided and abetted by their watch dog spies of the criminal investigation division (C.I.D.), are escalating their acts of aggression against the people of the city in general and Black people and the Black Panther Party in particular!

This renewed and senseless repression indicates that the tangled lies of the ruling circles can no longer afford to allow a peaceful assembly of Blacks and Whites they can no longer afford to let the masses of the people see that it is racism and the armed racist power structure that is undermining our resistance movement and subjugating the people of this wicked and corrupt cesspool city! Whenever there is an assembly of individuals whose constitutional rights are walked on, it always has been and still is the result of perverted head hunting policemen, being turned loose on the innocent, inciting them and by their vicious attacks forcing Black people and all oppressed people to defend themselves against uniformed charlatans, hiding behind the long retired disguise of law and order! The attempt by the pigs and their flunkies, the jive news media to distort and hide the truth about the so called police, brought about the whole scene of disruption at the Flower Mart, and only by the human and constitutional rights of armed self defense can this raging tide of torture, brutality, and subjugation be halted!

By using the Hitleristic tactics of coercion against the innocent people

of Baltimore, and using those same methods, and now that the phony guardians of the law are nothing but low-natured beasts, that have no regard for law, justice, or the rights of people. Our people must throw off the shackles of the plantation slavemasters of yester-years and rush forward to seize power that will insure us the justice and peace that the armed fascist have denied us since our enslavement began here in racist America 400 years ago! Fascism can only breed when the lying politicians and the agent pig police departments are allowed to masquerade as servants of the people. Once these disguises have been torn off and the fascist are exposed to the people, our vengeance must be cold and deadly. We can not afford to take any chances we can't afford to put things off. Black people must stop the whole show now, and get our business straight, because if we fail to grasp securely the reins of this historic opportunity there may be no tomorrow.

RAISE THE BATTLE CRY:
INTENSIFY!

"Lil" Masai
Baltimore chapter

ENTERTAINMENT . SPEAKERS . FOOD

MASS RALLY JUNE 19, 1970.

(JUNE TEENTH)

BOBBY HUTTON MEMORIAL PARK 18th & Adeline Oakland, Calif.

To inform the Black Community concerning the issues of political prisoners and the re-writing of the constitution to make it apply to Black people.

Those who wish to help with the rally call NCCF Bobby Seale Community Information Center 1690 Tenth St., W. Oakland, Calif. 465-7089

or East Oakland Community Information Center 636-0944

MAY COMPANY, MAY BE CLOSED BY THE PEOPLE

The capitalistic establishment of the May Company Crenshaw (Westside) serves nobody but itself to the peoples money. Besides the extraction of millions of dollars from the community of View Park and Baldwin, this establishment directly endorses police brutality--intensified police supervision of Black shoppers and employees.

The corner of Crenshaw and Santa Barbara May 20, at 5:00, was the scene of unprovoked police brutality. When a plainclothes policeman saw it as his duty to relentlessly bust an 18-year-old brother with his handcuffs while intimidating him with his gun. Upon noticing the incident, I started across the street. A crowd of people had started to gather, noticing also what was taking place. Everyone wanted to know why Arnold Alcorn was being beaten.

About this time, a Black and White police unit arrived and helped to subdue the brother. Then a Black (negro) Pork Chop plainclothes pig became brave and decided also to help subdue the brother.

Offering no resistance, the brother was taken upstairs in May Company for interrogation, being

punched, slapped, and kicked. A Black and White unit policeman attempted to calm down the crowd and told them he (the brother) was "suspected". He was suspected of shoplifting. The people then spoke out in protest. For if the brother was only suspected, then why was he being beat like an animal? The pig was jammed but attempted to cool the crowd by philosophizing over the question. The people noticing they were being double-talked by a man not concerned with the well-being of Black people or people period, dismissed him. The people started saying he could do nothing for them but "to get out of the community".

The people of the community are waking up and gaining a new consciousness about May Co. on Crenshaw. As they open their minds they see more clearly that this department store is only a moneymaking machine owned by avaricious capitalist businessmen. These businessmen don't intend to let a dime of the money they take out of the community come back in the community. These "paper god" worshippers are not concerned whether or not the community prospers. No, everything is fine with them as

long as they take our money to Beverly Hills and Hollywood where they live. We, the people want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black community.

May Co. is not content in its robbery of our community. It is also robbing its employees who are predominantly Black by paying them slave wages and not allowing them to unionize. Everyday employees are spied on and intimidated by plainclothes policemen who are receiving special pay to keep employees from organizing and keeping Blacks who are trying to organize out.

Since the May Co. refuses to place back in the community some of the money it extracts, since it also refuses to allow its employees union for the sake of better wages and fringe benefits (important factors for the survival of people) and since its insight of subjecting Black people to intensified police supervision and brutality, the people are going to have a boycott of the establishment.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

NCCF Community Center
55th St., Los Angeles
Bernard Olitinga Byrd III

WHY REVOLUTION IN AMERICA?

I might begin by saying that revolution is not at all a new thing. The fact is that throughout the historical development of man himself, he has always found ways and developed methods to rid himself of those people or forces, whether they be human or natural as long as they are oppressive. History books whether distorted or factual are full of revolutionary truths. Even though we are taught by the American Revolution that it is the right of the people to cast off a government that does not protect you and to establish new order to insure your safe being and development, if in fact we are taught this, and guaranteed this in the constitution then why when people speak of revolution as a means of liberating themselves from the yoke of domestic-imperialism -- fascism--that they are considered as bad, as criminals as "Dirty Communists"? The question WHY?, is one of the main factors in securing the key to freedom.

The American people have been subjected to the most heavy and demagogic forms of indoctrination in the history of man. And it is because people begin to question the lies that have been fed to them from the manipulating greedy, avaricious businessmen and their jive flunkies--the demagogic politician--because of this, the streets are overflowing with anger and determination. Because of a lot of White people not accepting the role of the instrument of slavery or genocide anymore and because Black people refuse to be under slavery or victims of genocide anymore-- revolution will fill the land.

The ideology of the ruling class clique is simple--to have all-to rule all.

The ideology of the people is simple also--to rid themselves of the ruling class clique. In order to do this there must be revolution!

Basic human rights are not negotiable--either you take your foot off my neck, or I'll snatch your leg off. Either you give me back my right to live or I will, by any means necessary create conditions that will insure my survival. If that means killing Richard Nixon then let it be done. If blood is what is necessary to cast off and destroy the evil in this country, in this society, then let the streets run red. If you must be unkind then smash, right and left, get it over with and forget it and go about the business of building your home and educating your children.

The American people were brainwashed to the point where exterminating the Red man was the "christian" thing to do. White children were brought up at that time in an environment of "legalized" murder and thievery on the one hand "Jesus with red, white and blue warpaint" on the other. At the same time White folks were busy killing or making deals with a scurvy greedy pig from the ranks of Black people to sell Black flesh for the purpose of enslaving them for profit.

In the case of both the Indian people and the African slaves, the driving force was profit, it was then, it is now. The murder of millions of people by Americans has been for profit. Indians, Africans, Japanese, Koreans and Vietnamese people have all been the victims of greed and lust. So what can you say to a people that are already hard core murderers? What could you possibly say to them to make them want to give you your freedom? What can you say to a people that have been systematically geared to not only accept genocide but to actively wage it on other people? What can you say when the White community brings their children with picnic baskets to watch a Black man to be beaten, hung and burned, or demonstrate 100,000 strong in the



streets in favor of murdering thousands of Vietnamese women and children? Well you can say just about everything you want to say, but you won't be heard (this is a proven fact).

America is blue and cold like ice. America is no good to generate life but rather used to promote death for profit. It is up to the people to salvage the situation.

It is up to the forces of life to combat the instruments of death and to change the American scene to one where people will be allowed to live in harmony and have a full and productive life--one where racism, demagoguery and terror are not needed--one where a man will not be chained, gagged and beaten in a so-called court of "law" or the Electric Chair,

as an example for me and for you. ONE WHERE PIGS ARE NOT PRESENT!

FREE THE PEOPLE!

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Colorado Chapter
Denver, Colorado
Michael D. -- SLAVE, FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

Letter To Revolutionaries' Parents

Parents of revolutionaries' try to understand your children. You don't want them to be jailed. You tell them everyday in the news you see where some more Black youths are sacrificed on the altar to Pig Nixon's regime. You see news of more Black Panthers being ripped off to the pig pen or murdered. You see where more are beaten under the clubs of the occupation troops. The pig news media splashes out news that even the Whites that are sympathetic to our righteous and just cause of freedom, justice and peace, are murdered along with us. You stand up and tell us to protect our futures, to get an education that is useless to us and that won't even count in the long run because we are Black. You want us to have a better life than you had and to raise beautiful Black families that you can be proud of. You throw in our youth and your love for us. We want it, but this system, this oppressive, bloodsucking society won't let us, and it wouldn't let you. Since you didn't act as you should have, we must do it ourselves. Youth, our youth, makes the revolution. We are doing what we must and what you should have done, we have picked up the gun and are prepared to use it. We understand the oppressive, avaricious creatures controlling this country. We know their nature and we know that they must be destroyed. The pigs pulling the strings are out to kill you and I regardless. They are out to commit genocide on all the non-White people of the world in general and Black people in particular, starting with the Black Panther leadership and membership.

The U.S. imperialistic, fascist dogs have killed off many American Indians by out-right murder,

and starvation. There are now less Indians than Buffalo. The low-lifed pigs in power, are now mercilessly slaughtering Yellow people all over Indochina to satisfy their blood lust. They are running amuck all over Latin and South America killing off Brown people in their all out effort to make themselves masters of the world. And you actually believe that they will hesitate to burn, gas, hang or shoot 20,000,000 Blacks. They have the army, national guard, local pigs, federal pigs and the judicial frame-up, hoax section waiting and Pig Nixon is arming them with deadly weapons banned from warfare by the United Nations.

In the eyes of the White power structure, there is no place for Black people in America's future. This should be obvious to you by now. Blacks are the last hired and the first to be fired from the most demeaning (nasty) tasks. Check out the space program, zero Blacks. They want no Blacks to contaminate outer space. They are going out of their way to patrol our communities with everything from machine guns and gas to knives and clubs. The callous oinks are taking the '70 census to see exactly how many of us they have to deal with and how many more ovens they have to build to destroy Blacks, be he violent or be he non-violent. (Meaning Black is Black and we must go.)

The fascist war lovers are planning to stem off the worldwide revolution against us. These imperialist dogs are trying to put poor and oppressed people against each other by sending our youth all over the world to kill other poor and oppressed people, but this won't work. We can see through

his scheme. They will murder us, jail us on trumped-up charges or use their Black lackeys, stooges and pigs to set Blacks up for the big gun down if we let them. But you just don't see it. You are blind and deaf to what's happening because the pig media has been busy for years setting up your mind.

We, the youth, your off-springs are revolutionaries. We are not law breakers because the laws of this country were not made to include Black people. We are motivated by an intense love for our people. At home the parents would defend their love ones to the death. This was their duty, their children were their future, we are your future. Without us, what would be your purpose in life? You, parents, have had children and it is your duty to protect and help them for as long as you live. They are yours, and if you won't take up the gun to defend your loved ones from what you know is coming, that even a blind man can see, then we will take the stand alone.

We have no future if we die fighting for the same oppressor that is trying to kill us. We want freedom. We have a future to look forward to. We want families. We want our lives. We want our youth. We must be allowed to live as human beings. "We will have our freedom or the earth will be leveled in our attempts to gain it."

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Brooklyn Chapter

Edward Williams

THE TIME IS NOW!
USE WHAT YOU GOT, TO GET WHAT YOU NEED!

MIS-EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA

WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY WE WANT AN EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

Point #5 of the Black Panther Party 10 point platform and program

Whether its Richard Dilworth, President of the Philadelphia school board, or Gillespie, principal of the Strawberry Mansion Jr. high school, a pig is a pig. This article is aimed at exposing the true nature and quality of our principal in this particular high school. To give you an example take the fool Gillespie for instance, who is the principal of 99.9% Black, Strawberry Mansion high school, does not relate to the community. Check out his practices, community people have little or no say in what's going on. There was one incident where the pupil was put out of a classroom. The pupil left school, which may not or may have been the right thing to do. The young brother at any instance was very confused. He went home, explaining the problem to his cousin, who then accompanied him back to school. His cousin came back to talk to the pig teacher who is a pig in essence of a lower level. All he said was oink! The problem was then sent on a higher level, to Gillespie. The principal then told the brother that he was suspended. He then had the cousin escorted out of school, next he

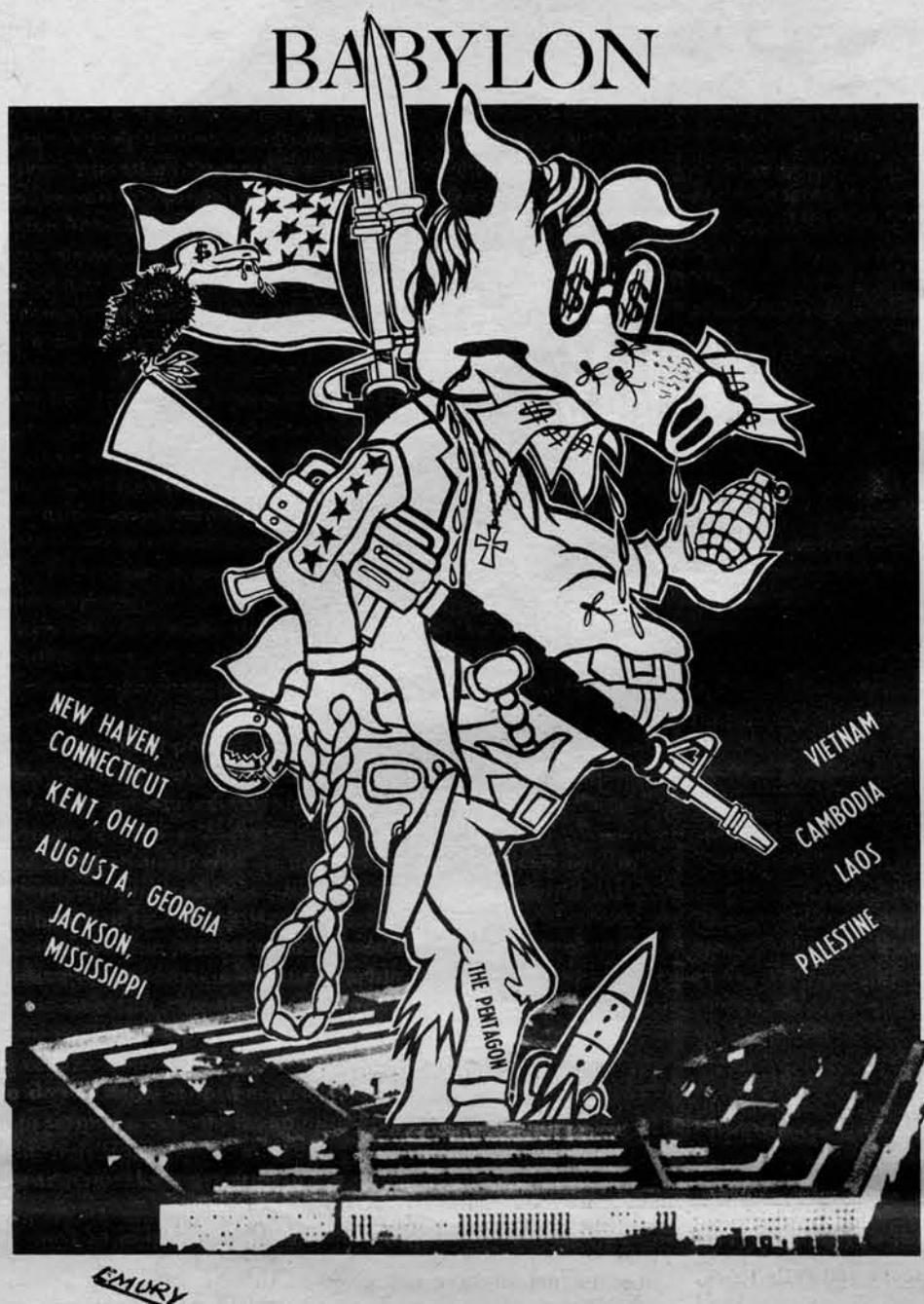
turned back to the suspended pupil and oinked that he would deal with him in not such a pleasant manner. This is just one of the many ways in which cases of so-called discipline are handled in the wrong manner. I have spoken to many students about their feelings toward Gillespie. All the students say the same thing. He is a jive principal or he does not understand anything relating to the problems students have or are faced with in our community, our homes and our lives. People talk about quality education. I think that we should talk about the way discipline problems are handled. Discipline is a way of correcting a situation not creating another. So many times discipline problems handled in the wrong manner have caused our children to drop out of school, loose interest in himself and the world is a contradiction.

At this point I'm asking concerned mothers and fathers to start talking to their sons and daughters and find out how much they feel about Gillespie and Strawberry Mansion Junior High School. They must begin to visit the school more often and check out the picture of that nigger fool Gillespie, and if he does not relate to the students needs and the desires of the community, then he should not be in our school.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE CHAIRMAN BOBBY

Herman / Philadelphia Branch
Black Panther Party

PENTAGONIZED SOCIETY



In the same way in which imperialism subjugated the society of the colonial territory and made it think, feel, and act in colonial terms, pentagonism has succeeded in pentagonizing American society. This poses a serious problem of conscience for the men and the people who have been attacked—or are in danger of being attacked—by pentagonism.

Must we consider all the people of the United States responsible for the deaths, the destruction, the intrigues, and the abuses that pentagonism commits in the world? Is a worker in South Dakota guilty of the death of a Vietnamese child burned with napalm?

The answer cannot be simple. This worker in South Dakota is pentagonized; he acts as if he were drugged. But he is in a sense responsible; he has placed his desire for well-being and personal security above his duties toward humanity. If he accepts the fact that in order to have an automobile and a refrigerator, a compatriot of his—or perhaps his son or his brother—burns a Vietnamese child with napalm, there is no doubt that this American worker is an anti-human being. The drug of well-being has made him indifferent to the suffering and death of an Asian child, and perhaps the root of the problem lies in that word, for if the child is Asian this means that he is not American, and if he is not American his suffering and death have little value.

This attitude of the worker in South Dakota is not due to the fact that he is a worker. American scientists and those from other Western countries have been the first—and continue to be the most enthusiastic—supporters of pentagonism. Capitalism could not

have become over-developed without the participation of scientists, and the large majority of the scientists of the United States placed themselves in the service of the American high command of industry for one principal reason: to earn more money. These scientists inherited centuries of experience amassed by thousands of investigators, many of them unknown, common good belonging to all men, which must benefit the whole world and not only the scientists and those who hire them. It is frequently argued that in all cases scientists work for humanity, even if it is in an indirect form, but this argument is debatable, since no definite proof that it is true has yet been presented.

We do not know the number of American scientists working directly for the Pentagon, nor even the number of those who work in industries that have military purposes, but even in the United States it is suspected that their number is quite high. Furthermore, the current of university graduates, scientists, and technicians flowing from the capitalist countries to the United States is truly impressive. In the year 1963, 939 scientists and graduate technicians emigrated to America from England alone; between 1964 and 1965 this English emigration climbed to 40 per cent of British doctors and biologists; between 1965 and 1966 this number was reduced to 35 per cent. (1) The "flight of talent" to the United States is very extensive, especially from the underdeveloped countries. In many instances, such as in the case of doctors, foreigners take the place of a large number of Americans who go off to serve in the army; in other

instances, they take the place of scientists working on pentagonist projects. In every instance, however, they lend their services to private enterprise, much of which works for the Pentagon.

Doubtless, a small number of these scientists come to the United States to look for opportunities not for themselves and their families but for their research; and from a certain point of view it would seem that they are behaving in a praiseworthy manner. But seen in the context of world events, the situation changes considerably because the result of these investigations, in a very high percentage of cases, is going to be used by pentagonism for its own ends, and every scientist ought to know at this juncture that a high proportion of the research centers in the United States work for pentagonism.

Scientists from America and the capitalist countries have placed themselves in the service of pentagonism, but on the other end of the social scale the workers of the United States are doing the same thing. Mr. Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, enthusiastically approved his country's intervention in the Dominican Republic, on the grounds that the revolution of April, 1965, in that little Antillean country was Communist. In reality, it was a matter of the AFL-CIO—as an organized mass within a pentagonized society—responding to the tacit division of activities imposed by pentagonism: freedom of action for Americans inside the United States in exchange for support of pentagonism outside the country. This support of pentagonism by the organized workers in a country is not limited to America. In Latin America and in other

parts of the world, the AFL-CIO works within workers' movements with the object of enrolling them in the service of pentagonist policy; moreover, in the United States there is a specialized institution devoted to extending pentagonist influence among the masses of workers of other countries. This is the American Institute for Free Labor Development. (2)

The American labor movement's one preoccupation is to obtain advantages for its affiliates, and pentagonism does not mind that the workers in the United States earn as much as they can. If this produces benefits for workers and workers support pentagonism, it is logical that they should understand and even complement each other.

Theoretically, each citizen of the United States, whether a newborn baby, an old man, a paralytic, a madman, or a scientist, has ten dollars a day to spend as he sees fit. The country's gross national product reached \$739,500,000,000 in 1966, which in theory means more than \$3,600 per head per year. (3) In reality, however, the figures are different, since a hundred thousand receiving twenty dollars per day will leave another hundred thousand who do not receive a cent. In the United States there are several hundred citizens who receive more than a million dollars a year, which in theory means that they can earn more than \$2,740 per day, and this in turn means that each one of those receiving a million dollars annually takes for himself the ten dollars per day of 274 persons.

The great majority of the American population is devoted to an intense struggle that consumes the energy of millions and millions of men in order that each of them may have a larger share of these dollars that theoretically each person ought to receive. This is the struggle for well-being that turns men into enemies, into pitiless competitors, that alienates them—that is, makes them strangers to each other—divides them, and leaves them exhausted, with neither the time nor the strength to think of anything else.

Worn out by this struggle, what can it matter to the worker in South Dakota when he comes home exhausted from eight hours of work and two or three hours on the highway or on the train, to hear on his television that a Vietnamese child has been burned to the bone by napalm? What matters to him is to earn more than these ten dollars that belongs to him statistically, since he needs to exchange his car for a more recent model or has to pay for his son's education. This worker in South Dakota is drugged by his desire for well-being and by pentagonist propaganda. The burned child in Vietnam was probably the son of a Communist and would probably have become a Communist if he had lived, and every Communist must be wiped out in time, because if not the day will come when he, an American worker, will not be able to buy the latest model car because the Communists are trying to take away his property and his comforts, and those of every American. This was what President Johnson told American soldiers when he was at a base in Vietnam: "They must see that we will not let them take away what we have."

Now this worker hasn't the slightest idea that the death of the Vietnamese child has touched millions of men who are not Communists, but who refuse pentagonist methods with all their hearts. For these millions of men, and there are more of them every day, the attitude of the worker in South Dakota comes close to being entirely culpable, for neither he nor anyone else has the

right to allow the soldiers of his country to kill children in Vietnam while his time is spent getting money together to exchange his car for a newer model.

The scientists on one end of the scale and the workers on the other, all of them in search of personal well-being, made the establishment of overdeveloped capitalism possible. This type of capitalism came about so rapidly that in fifteen years—from 1951 to 1966—the gross national product of the United States doubled, from \$319,000,000,000 to \$739,500,000,000. To reach such a fabulous height, overdeveloped capitalism had to enlarge its market in the country; it had to produce on a mass scale for mass buyers who earned high salaries. The process began after the First World War, when Henry Ford raised his workers' daily salaries to five dollars, and this was extended to the entire country during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Administration in the thirties.

But the creation of a consumers' market of gigantic proportions could not have been achieved—even though high salaries were paid—without means for mass communication. Newspapers, magazines, and sales catalogues had their limitations; they might get into the hands of several million possible consumers, but not into the hands of a majority of them. Not even radio, with all its power of communication, was the right medium to fulfill this need. Radio could describe an article, but it could not show it. The medium that was needed appeared with television, a product of science that placed itself in the service of overdeveloped capitalism.

Television became the king of the means of propaganda of large-scale industry. In 1966 newspapers and magazines received a little more than \$861,000,000 in advertising revenue, while television received quite a bit more than double this figure, almost \$2,000,000,000. (4) Once the realm of television as the seller of any product was consolidated, this gave the final touch to mass society as a consumers' market. In a few years the American people were turned into an acquisitive society, into a multiple entity—comprising millions and millions of persons—that was passive, expectant, and dependent on its television sets to know what kind of clothes to buy, where to spend the weekend, what country to visit if it went traveling, what beer it should drink, what sort of weather there would be the next day. Television freed the average American from the task of choosing; it made him accustomed to obeying, on the level of his deepest motivations, and therefore made him accustomed to not raising problems.

To bring about this passivity good sales promotion had to be used, and studies of mass psychology were made with this end in view at centers financed by overdeveloped capitalism and the Pentagon; at the same time the means of advertising with a flood of propaganda were financed. In 1966, a single firm—Procter and Gamble, the soap manufacturer—spent \$265 million to advertise its products, almost two times as much as the annual budget of a Latin-American country with more than three million inhabitants. In the same period General Motors spent 208 million, the Ford Motor Company more than \$312 million and Chrysler \$93 million. (5) One hundred and twenty-five American firms spent a total of \$4,470,000,000 on advertising in 1966, which means that the gross profits of advertising firms which handled the publicity for these one hundred and twenty-five companies was \$787 million. As can be seen,

CONT. ON NEXT PAGE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE PENTAGONIZED SOCIETY

there is a sufficient margin in such a high sum to attract psychologists, economists, sociologists, designers, and writers trying to better their income.

Of course, as soon as television showed how useful it was for selling everything from a tube of toothpaste to a car, it was obvious that it would also be useful for selling the country the idea that the United States was in danger and should dedicate an important part of its production to arming itself and preparing itself militarily to defend itself against its enemies. As for the

fully selected by the most expert propaganda technicians, since he has them at his disposal; and along with this consummate technique he uses the great psychological weight of his position--that is to say, the enormous prestige of the office of President of the United States. Television can be used--and frequently is used--so that other people may say the opposite of what the President has said; but it happens that these other people never have an audience as great as the one that the head of the country has, so that there are millions of Americans who hear the President and do not hear those who argue against his opinions. Theoretically, it is possible to put forth ideas contrary to those of pentagonism, but the truth is that there is no competing with high officials, and above



WAR MANIAC - RICHARD NIXON

value of the words "defend itself," pentagonism succeeded in creating in the American people a confusion of such magnitude where concepts were concerned that it became normal to read in books and newspapers in the United States paragraphs such as the following:

Given our nature and our traditions--and our wealth--we have no wish to conquer. Our military might is defensive, not offensive. Even when it is used, or threatened, as in Vietnam, Cuba or the Dominican Republic, our Government conceives of that use as defensive. Some Asians may think we want to "occupy" Vietnam in the old imperialist tradition, but they are clearly mistaken. (6)

The writer is correct about the last point, since the purpose is not to occupy Vietnam in the old imperialist style but to use it in the new pentagonist style.

Like all the rest of the goods of overdeveloped capitalism, television, all at the same time and in all the cities and towns of the country, an advantage that the President employs to serve the cause of pentagonism. Of these sixty million television viewers, the majority have been made passive by the habit of watching television; they are ready to accept what they are told as long as it is presented with a good sales technique. Of course, when the President of the Republic speaks, he uses the best sales technique, with his words care-

all with the President of the Republic, when it comes time to count the number of viewers.

What other sectors of the country, besides scientists, workers, and advertising men, benefit from pentagonism? Or, what is the same thing: What other groups are pentagonized?

Businessmen on all levels. Large-scale commercial enterprises are, of course, part of the pentagonist nucleus, but the less strong ones are pentagonized because they secure advantages from the war economy. The commercial sector, formed by thousands of families throughout the whole nation, is perhaps the sector that is most conscious of what large military expenditures mean in keeping a great consumers' market functioning. Demand stimulates the movement of enormous quantities of products of all sorts--necessary articles and superfluous articles--and businessmen are the ones who provide an outlet for this ocean of products. Everything that is sold passes through their hands and makes a profit for them. The pentagonist economy, with its high salaries and its rapid rate of development, has created a veritable paradise for American businessmen.

Along with businessmen there are bankers of all sorts. Those who control large-scale banking are part of the pentagonist command, but those in small-scale banking, bankers and bank employees in medium-sized cities and farm towns, find them-

selves in almost the same situation as businessmen. This sector of banking handles almost all the money that keeps medium-sized and small businesses moving, so that as this type of enterprise buys more and sells more, the banks that are on a level below the large banks have a larger number of daily transactions, which in the last analysis means that they earn more money. Like their counterparts in business, these bankers have a clear understanding that the enormous economic activity of the country has a war economy as its base; thus this sector is also pentagonized.

The truth is that the majority of the groups in American society were pentagonized by the end of 1964. Political observers did not realize this because in the elections of that year the candidate who offered to use nuclear power in Vietnam lost and the candidate who said that such an extreme should not be resorted to won. The vote in 1964 thus appeared to be a plebiscite against the war, that is, against the almost omnipotent, but still hidden, pentagonist movement. But political observers allowed themselves to be confused by appearances or confused their own feelings with those of the people. In general, the observers were more or less liberals and voted against the nuclear part of Goldwater's program, but the American people voted against the Republican candidate because he announced that if he won he would decentralize social security--that is to say, he would make social security dependent on the state governments, not the federal government. In the minds of the great masses in the country this point in Goldwater's program meant that he opposed social security. And it was the threatening aspect of this point, not what he said about the atomic bomb, that caused Goldwater's defeat. If he had said that he would use the atomic power of his country in Vietnam and that he would also raise pensions, reduce the re-

tirement age, and increase health services without increasing their cost, the American people would have voted for him. Or in my case, he would have had a much greater number of votes.

Let us not deceive ourselves and make a reality out of what we wish were true. The great mass of Americans has been drugged by the spectacle of the fabulous wealth of their country and its impressive military power. This great mass will vote for the use of the A-bomb in Vietnam and anywhere else if the use of the bomb will bring them more security, more well-being, and flatter their national pride. A few months after the 1964 elections, in May, 1965, more than 70 per cent of the population of the United States supported Johnson in his decision to send Marines to the Dominican Republic, and in March, 1967, an approximately equal number approved escalating the bombing of North Vietnam. (7) This high a percentage--in both cases--supported President Johnson in his pentagonist policy because he had proposed to the Congress a law extending medical benefits. The man who offers the American masses any kind of benefit will have their support for any type of foreign policy, because these masses haven't the least idea of anything outside of their fear of Communism and their hunger for advantages.

It is significant that the public opinion poll made in March, 1967--in which an overwhelming majority was in favor of intensifying the bombing of Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam--took place after the New York Times published a series of reports by one of its journalists who was in Hanoi and other places in North Vietnam. In these reports he divulged that American bombs were killing noncombatant women and children and destroying schools and homes. The articles in the Times provoked an uproar in liberal American circles, which commented on them in all the publicity media within their reach.

The poll indicated that these protests had no effect on the ideas of the majority.

Various conclusions can be drawn from this, but they all converge. We may conclude that The New York Times has little weight in the formation of the public opinion of the country; we may conclude that it has an important influence but one that is limited to liberal circles; we may conclude that liberals do not express either the feelings or the ideas of the majority of Americans. This last seems the most probable. In any case, any one of these conclusions leads to the same reality: On the whole, the people of the United States are pentagonist or are being pentagonized; they believe in the power of arms and trust it to solve international problems, and therefore they do not hear those who preach the opposite.

What Simon Bolivar in 1819 called the active minority of society, referring to the sector that puts itself at the head of a country and leads it to fight for justice and freedom, no longer exists in the United States. The active minority in America is made up of men given over to the passion for economic profit; and it is this group that the people follow, not the liberals. Liberals belong to individualist society, which has disappeared in the United States. What there is now is a mass society which can be influenced only by great displays of strength and massive means of information. The liberals do not have a chance to show a power equal to that of the Pentagon, nor can they ever manage to raise the money needed to cover the country with television programs. Those who have these two things at their disposal are the ones who benefit from pentagonism and from the government, which in its foreign policy is the agent of pentagonism; and it is these who form the opinion of the masses.

Professors and students protest American military action in far-off territories of poor people. The poll indicated that these protests had no effect on the ideas of the majority.

CONT. ON NEXT PAGE



NIXON'S WAR MACHINE -- U.S.A.

CONT. FROM PAGE 3

where he got shot in the abdomen and the bullet exited out his back was enough to cause a concussion—an unconscious situation. And the court said that in view of that, when we submitted an instruction saying that if they believed that Huey Newton was unconscious at the time, that this act took place even if they believed he did it, that they could not find him guilty. They would have to acquit him because an unconscious man, a person who doesn't know what he's doing, cannot possibly be guilty of anything. Number two was the Grier testimony. Recall where the police

withheld the tape, and the district attorney doctored up the tape where he said, "I did see Huey Newton's face." When, in fact, twenty minutes after the event he said, "I didn't mean I did see his face." The third one was the one about the matter involving Dell Ross. Dell Ross claimed in the Grand Jury hearing that he was kidnapped; that Huey Newton had a gun in his hand, and he

Interview with C Attorney Charles R. Garry

said, "I just shot two dudes." When the trial commenced and when he took the witness stand he refused to testify and took the fifth amendment. And when they granted him immunity without being prosecuted for the case, he then said he didn't remember. And when he said he didn't remember what had happened, the prosecuting attorney read all of his testimony that he had given under the grand jury including the one where he said Huey Newton said, "I just shot two dudes." And you'll remember, I've also taken his tape where he denied ever saying these things, and he said they just put words in his mouth, that he was frightened to make those statements. Since he would not testify, he alleged that he didn't remember anything. The district attorney read all of this so that the jury heard it. Then the judge said, "Ignore it." Once you've heard something you can't ignore it. You still remember what happened. The fourth major point was the fact that since Huey Newton had been convicted of an as-

sault charge at one time, and since he did not have an attorney, we maintained that he was entitled to have an attorney and that he did not knowingly and intelligently waive his right to counsel. The court said that there should have been an independent hearing on that—as to whether Huey knowingly and intentionally and willfully knowing all of his rights, waived his right to counsel. Those were the four fundamental points. There are many other points such as the jury selection, and the grand jury, and the court in those areas said, that we had not shown enough of a factual discrimination against Black people and young people and poor people in the selection of the jury, that they would comment on it at this time.

Q. Charles, after the sixty days and they don't decide to give him bail and he goes back to Alameda County, will he just stay there?

A. He'll stay there until his case

comes up for trial, if he doesn't make bail.

Q. Do you think that this reversal will have any affect on your other cases?

A. Well I don't know what affect it will have on other cases except that as we get stronger legally, and in our determination politically out in the street, and we do our homework, and our political work, and our educational work, we're going to be able to have more power. That's what we mean when we say "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE." And this is an example of what can be done with solidarity. But this is only a small victory, although it's a great victory for our leadership, because it shows that we're fighting back and we're not going to take anything lying down. Don't forget that the enemy is a lot stronger than we think they are. The enemy is the most powerful military might in the world, and the most oppressive nation in the

world today.

Q. In the event of a retrial and there is a racist judge and a racist district attorney, and a racist jury, what chances will Huey Newton have?

A. I will say this; that the case against Huey Newton is so weak that even a racist judge and a racist jury will have to acquit him. But of course, we're not going to sit there with our hands tied behind our back. We're going to see that we're not going to have a racist jury and no matter how much they try to give us a racist jury I hope that in the next six months or eight months when we retry the case of Huey P. Newton, that we have more power on the street today so that we can at least have some semblance of justice so that we can do our homework when we get out of jail.

CHIEF ATTORNEY FOR THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Charles R. Garry

CHARLES R. GARRY VISITS CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE



The other morning I saw Bobby Seale at Midville prison. I spent a half hour with him and was he tickled to death to see me. It was a real surprise for him and a real pleasure for me. He's

taken off his beard. And I said, "You look naked brother. How come?" He said, "They wouldn't let me go into the day room so I could mingle with the other brothers. They said, 'As long as you've got a beard we're not going to let you do it.'" So he said, "Okay, bring me a razor". So they brought him a razor and he took off his beard and he goes into the day room. But he is now on a hunger strike in protest of them making him take his beard off. He's already taken off about six or seven pounds. He was on a hunger strike for

about four days up until Sunday when I was there. He's in good spirits and he's just a beautiful man. He just keeps growing in mentality and maturity and development both politically and emotionally. He's going to be on the hunger strike until they get over this business of forcing people to take their beards off. He said it's not so much the beard, but it's the regimentation, the deprivation and the harassment of degrading a human being just because he happens to be confined in jail or in prison awaiting trial. Or even after trial he shouldn't

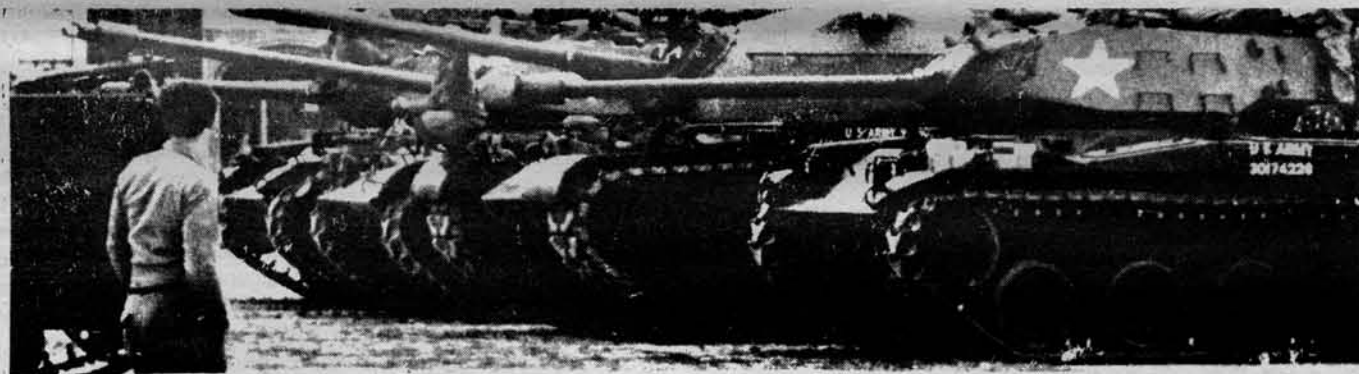
have to be degraded in this kind of a degrading inhuman fashion. And he said as we have more and more brothers who are sent to prison for political activity, we have to become more and more vigilant to be able to make the conditions in prisons more humanized. A place that human beings can relate to. "As long as there are going to be prisons," he said, "we want to live in a dignified fashion. Not as a common ordinary animal that's been led around by its nose."

He's heard about the decision on Huey's case and he said when he heard about it he just let out

a whoop! And a Wop! And he just carried on and carried on and he said that he almost brought the prison down. As a matter of fact he was so jubilant over it, that the fact that he hadn't eaten for four days seemed to be irrelevant to him. But he did say that every step must be taken to see that money is raised to see that Huey is out on the streets and able to give the leadership that he's been giving all these years; so that he can start cementing the community, both Black and White, so that we can have the solidarity that we are talking about constantly.

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

PENTAGONIZED SOCIETY



THE HORRORS OF CAMBODIA & VIETNAM IS NOTHING NEW TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

ples; they do so in paid announcements in newspapers and magazines that are read only by those who are convinced beforehand of what the ads say. Many of these "dissenters" protest at a number of universities and research centers that are financed by pentagonism. This paradox explains why, when the time came to liquidate the protest movement that shook the University of California at Berkeley—a giant, even in American terms—it was easy to dismiss the chancellor of the university, who was accused of the crime of thinking as the students who protested did. (8)

The American liberal sector, which grows smaller and smaller, is already an exotic bloom, the product of a society that has been liquidated. There remain a few liberals who survive for biological reasons, owing to their advanced age. The natural expression of a mass society in a system of free competition is pentagonism, not liberalism. Liberals were an understandable phenomenon in the era of individualist capitalism in the nineteenth century and the beginning of this century, but not in the era of overdeveloped capitalism. There are a few young people who, when they graduate, classify themselves as liberals as if this were a profession, but there is no reason for this: these young people know that on certain occasions the government needs men with

liberal credentials to send on missions that cannot be carried through by known pentagonists. In every case, without exception, this curious type of liberal can be recognized, because in his denunciations of the policy of his government that he publishes in "liberal" reviews, there is always a paragraph—the key paragraph—in which he agrees with the official policy.

The uncertain attitude of many American liberals is explained by the fact that it is difficult, or rather, impossible, to live in any era with the ideas and the feelings of a bygone era. The case of Theodore Draper is unique and is owing to the fact that this acute observer is endowed with exceptional intelligence and creative sensibility, both of these being accompanied by a tenacity and an intellectual honesty that is beyond question. His example, however, is not easy to follow for those who do not have his qualifications (9)

FOOTNOTES

(1) The Daily Telegraph, London, Tuesday, August 22, 1967. A cable from the AP dated from Brussels the day before, with the figures coming from the Common Market Commission. The cable, published under the title "Britain Worst Hit in Europe 'Brain Drain,'" refers to scientists from

Holland, Germany, France, and Great Britain.

(2) Eugene Methven, in an article entitled "Labor's New Weapon for Democracy," Reader's Digest, October, 1966, p. 21.

(3) The gross national product in the year 1967 reached \$781,500,000,000—that is, an increase of \$42,000,000 over the year 1966—which amounts to a little more than \$200 per capita in that year. We do not know, however, what part of this increase corresponded to war production, although doubtless it is high.

(4) The Times, London, August 29, 1967, The Times Business Section, page 15. The exact figures are \$861,190,000 for newspapers and magazines and \$1,969,600,000 for television.

(5) These figures also come from The Times, London, August 29, 1967, The Times Business Section. This is not the source, however, of the gross profit of advertising agencies, which was calculated on the basis of 17.65 per cent of total billings, and covers all agencies.

(6) Edwin L. Dale, Jr., in "The U.S. Economic Giant Keeps Growing," in The New York Times Magazine, March 19, 1967, pp. 31, 135-140, 146-152.

(7) At no time during 1967 did the Vietnam war fail to receive the support of a majority. In the month of September, 58 per cent of the American people supported the war, and this was the lowest percentage of the year, for in December it rose to 61 per cent. The well-known Harris Survey conducted polls in February, July, August, September, and December, 1967, and with the exception of the last two polls mentioned, all were over 70 per cent. Harris's last survey was in February, 1968—that is, at the height of the Viet Cong Tet offensive—and it showed that the country's support of the Vietnam war had reached 74 per cent (The New York Times, February 13, 1968). On February 19, 1968, the London Times published on the front page a report by its Washington correspondent, dated Washington, February 18, with a summary of the findings of a Gallup poll published that day in the United States. According to this report, "the number of those who criticized the President because they would like to see a general increase in the military effort in Vietnam has grown from 56 to 61 per cent."

(8) We are referring here to the replacement of President Clark Kerr by Charles Johnson Hitch, a man with very close ties to the Pentagon who has worked for the Rand Corporation and the Depart-

ment of Defense. A full report on Hitch's pentagonist activities may be found in The Nation, December 15, 1967, pp. 682-685.

(9) While I was President of the Dominican Republic I received a cablegram from a well-known American liberal who had made a name for himself as a supporter of better treatment for Latin America. In 1963 this liberal, a mature man, was a member of the board of directors of a powerful sugar company in the United States and he cabled me asking me to sell sugar or one of its derivatives to his company. The Dominican state owned various sugar plants, but I was not a seller of sugar, nor had it ever occurred to me that this American political figure dealt in sugar. At that time sugar prices were going up in the world market, so that in defense of the interests of my country I asked that sales not be made except at prices that had previously been stipulated to be the proper ones. Some years later, at the time of the pentagonist intervention in my country, this liberal wrote an article in The New York Times Book Review that pictured me as a public calamity for the Dominican Republic. This liberal was Adolf Berle.

(Chapter Four, taken from the book, PENTAGONISM, A Substitute for Imperialism, by Juan Borsch)



THE TIME HAS COME!

The time has come for Black men to realize one essential fact of life, one cannot serve the slave-master at will, and be excused from the anger and wrath of the slave seeking his freedom.

It has always been the nature of the imperialist, racist, oppressive nations to exploit the lives of those who are being oppressed in as cold calculated, cold-blooded a manner as possible. One of these most outstanding ways has been and still is the using of the oppressed as policemen, soldiers, cannon fodder, bullet stoppers, shock troops on the altar of human sacrifice created by capitalists in their wars of aggression against mankind. This tactic has been used by past imperialist empire building nations such as Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Russia. Today it is being used by the imperialistic government of the United States.

The American government in its desire to maintain its oppressive, exploitative position throughout the world has had to allot outstanding sums of money for the maintaining and developing of its oppressive forces throughout the world. And has had to arm its own national police forces with the same weap-

ons it uses to fight its imperialist, adventuristic wars throughout the third world. To say that this is reaching into the jaws of certain destruction for American imperialism is not good enough for the oppressed people being subjected by these forces. The oppressed themselves must become aware of the nature of their exploited selves. The oppressed must begin to resist the tools of oppression which are placed before them. For these tools are the tools for death and destruction, all in the name of justice. The oppressed have to be made aware that they are an expendable commodity for American imperialism and her fascist government. The oppressed must be educated to realize that the Black policeman is not a protector of lives, but a protector of White business property. The Black policeman must be given the understanding that the Black community will not stand by idle while he goes through his minstrel act for the benefit of racist, fascist America. We will demand a show of solidarity from him, or else consider him the willing tool of American justice.

The same message must be conveyed to the Black serviceman

fighting in the name of American imperialism. No longer can we accept the jellyfish like attitude of Blacks in America's armed forces, when asked why they serve this country as tools of oppression. Is there any difference between the killing of Vietnamese by a Black soldier and the killing of a Black man by that soldier here in America? Is there any difference in the killing of a Black freedom fighter in Haiti by Black soldiers than the killing of Panthers by Black policemen here in America? Is there any difference in the killing of Angolans by Black soldiers in the service of Portugal and the killing of Cambodian freedom fighters by Black servicemen in the service of America? There cannot be any difference beyond the difference of location. American imperialism is the same throughout the world, its end results are the same, and its denial of human rights are the same, its exploitative nature is the same throughout the world, its divide and conquer tactics, its playing both ends against the middle, its sly, insidious piss-ant like attitude toward third world countries and their people is of a constant nature. And those who help America in these

acts are to be considered accomplices of these oppressing acts.

It is in this manner that point No. 6 of the Black Panther Party's Platform and Program becomes highly relevant to the Black man in America and the oppressed people in the third world. We say "We want all Black men to be exempt from military service." We further say "We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us." And still Blacks volunteer their lives, their blood to the slavemaster. "We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world, who like Black people are being victimized by the White racist government of America." And still Blacks wearing the symbol of oppression kill Vietnamese and Cambodians. "We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary", to this we have the L.A. 18. To this we have the correct response to America and her tools of oppression.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
K. Mbiassi Kinshasha
Political Prisoner, N.Y. 21
May 3, 1970

LETTER FROM BLACK BROTHER IN THE FASCIST ARMY

Brothers, this letter is written from a fellow Black man from Philadelphia, and this letter is to let you know about the fascist pigs in the beast army. You already know about the pressure being put on the Black men in the racist military and Black men in the racist United States of America as a whole. Recently, I spoke up for the Black Panther Party against the pig power structure in a debate and tried to get the brothers to raise money for Huey's birthday benefit, and they wanted to arrest me for treason. They also tried to claim that I was throwing Black Power salutes at their so-called flag. They even made me cut my Afro saying it looked out of place. And when I told them I wanted to join the Panthers, and a couple of other brothers, the pigs and their Tomming nigger henchmen really blew their gungho stacks. Recently a brother from Memphis, the one who spoke out with me, was also hit with a treason charge the same time that I was, but was released with me when the pigs couldn't pick up enough evidence, was framed with a narcotic charge.

The pigs in racist Jacksonville, N.C. said he had some marijuana on him. They charged him with a \$300.00 fine and seven months probation with restriction to the base with no leave and no pay, not even to go past the front gate. Now they are trying to give him a dishonorable discharge. There are hundreds of brothers involved in cases like this. But we are powerless to do anything about it. And a lot of brothers are afraid to speak out, because of White back lash. But I don't care, we can't take this lying down. Now is the time for the people to rise up and fight back. Now is the time to strike. I hope to join your Party one day as soon as possible. Because the Black Panther Party movement is the best Black movement that the brothers have going today. Please print this letter so that the brothers and sisters back home know what's going on. And I'll be proud to sign my name to it. Also I'll keep on informing you if the pigs don't throw me in jail. In the meantime let's keep ourselves together and show some Black pride.

MORE POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PFC W. Jackson 2610805
Headquarters A-CO

2nd AMTRAC BN FT. F.M.F.
ATL.
Camp Lejeune, North Carolina
28542

CAMBODIA: NEW SATELLITE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

President Richard Nixon again insults the intelligence of the thinking people by coining on T.V. and releasing his statement on Cambodia. This international thief, this universal burglar, has the audacity to say that, "If the South Vietnamese continue to attack our American fighting men while we are withdrawing from Vietnam, we will have to escalate our fighting until the enemy is destroyed."

This criminal nation entered Vietnam, against the will of the Vietnamese people, and dares to get uptight because the Vietnamese people wish to speed that 'exit'. The 'withdrawal', is a giant, jive job against the American people. Those who miraculously 'leave' Vietnam, either end up as, or is replaced by fresh fascists as support shock troops in Cambodia. In an attempt to mold the "neutral Cambodia" into a support force for Babylon, an anti-

communist satellite of Babylon, Richard 'no-mouth' Nixon, with his rat-like sneak-swine self, is the murderer. With a word he could stop the running of the blood in Vietnam and in the Black colonies throughout racist America. But to do so would provide a painful drop in the economic level at home. His greed and inhuman desires for bigger bucks, outweighs our visions of the buckets of blood.

Eldridge Cleaver said that "he can stop that war right now. He has nothing to do but pick up his telephone and say, Say, brother pig in the Pentagon, send out this order. Withdraw the pigs from the Vietnamese community, and let the Vietnamese people reconstruct the damage that we have done."

Richard Nothing, do you hear me?? The American people reject your latest trick speech, written by Jonathan Winters, or better

yet Ronnie "Mickey Mouse" Reagan, as "darkness in the middle of the day", as material solely for the toilet. And as for your little "thing" on anarchists, we are not anarchists; we know what type of government we desire: one of, by, and for the people. (Never before practiced in America) So let the lines be drawn ever sharper. We know you, as the orderer of the executions, as the boss of the street 'justifiable homicides', as the chief warden of the concentration camps. We know you. You are the Standard Bearer of the Swastika. The blood is on your hands, Macbeth saw the dagger, but there is no hope for you. And we will not rest, no we can't rest, till you and your lackeys are reduced to dry bones and rubble, under our people's feet, as new victories are surmounted to create a solid people's government.

Mumia

FREE MOTLEY



On Wednesday May 13, Pvt. Wilbert Z. Motley, 5-70th Eng. Co. of the 7th battalion Ft. Carson, was sentenced to 70 days in the stockade plus forfeiture of two thirds pay for three months.

Technically, Motley was on trial for communicating a threat but clearly he was prosecuted on this charge because he had exercised his rights of freedom of speech

and press. Motley regularly passed out the Black Panther newspaper and discussed it with other G.I.s in his unit.

The charges were filed against Motley when, after an argument with a sergeant, he said, "I'm going to kill that mother". Two witnesses testified that the words referred to the sergeant, but Motley himself testified that he had said the words to himself, while facing his bunk, and he was thinking not about Sgt. Alley, but about what it is to be a black man in this country.

All witnesses agreed that the sergeant was already out of the room and at the bottom of the stairs. He could not have heard Motley's words.

The one man court, Capt. MacDonald, threw out the original charge but found Motley guilty of the lesser charge of provoking words. The presence of 30 people in the court including G.I.s, Panthers, Home Front staff and other civilians may have influenced his decision. MacDonald recommended that the sentence be suspended until appeal proceedings could take place. But the colonel in charge refused and ordered Motley to the stockade immediately.

G.I. political prisoners will not be free until we shut the war machine down.

FREE THE FT. CARSON 261000!

The following article introduces a new series of articles on the ideology of the Black Panther Party by our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

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(Part 1)

By Eldridge Cleaver

We have said: the ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of Black people and the wisdom gained by Black people in their 400 year long struggle against the system of racist oppression and economic exploitation in Babylon, interpreted through the prism of the Marxist-Leninist analysis by our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton.

However, we must place heavy emphasis upon the last part of that definition -- 'interpreted...by our Minister of Defense..'. The world of Marxism-Leninism has become a jungle of opinion in which conflicting interpretations, from Right Revisionism to Left Dogmatism, foist off their reactionary and blind philosophies as revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Around the world and in every nation people, all who call themselves Marxist-Leninists, are at each other's throats. Such a situation presents serious problems to a young party, such as ours, that is still in the process of refining its ideology.

When we say that we are Marxist-Leninists, we mean that we have studied and understood the classical principles of scientific socialism and that we have adapted these principles to our own situation for ourselves. However, we do not move with a closed mind to new ideas or information. At the same time, we know that we must rely upon our own brains in solving ideological problems as they relate to us.

For too long Black people have relied upon the analyses and ideological perspectives of others. Our struggle has reached a point now where it would be absolutely suicidal for us to continue this posture of dependency. No other people in the world are in the same position as we are, and no other people in the world can get us out of it except ourselves. There are those who are all too willing to do our thinking for us, even if it gets us killed. However, they are not willing to follow through and do our dying for us. If thoughts bring about our deaths, let them at least be our own thoughts, so that we will have broken, once and for all, with the flunkeyism of dying for every cause and every error -- except our own.

One of the great contributions of Huey P. Newton is that he gave the Black Panther Party a firm ideological foundation that frees us from ideological flunkeyism and opens up the path to the future -- a future to which we must provide new ideological formulations to fit our ever changing situation.

Much -- most -- of the teachings of Huey P. Newton are unknown to the people because Huey has been placed in a

ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

By Eldridge Cleaver



THE ABOVE PAMPHLET IS NOW ON SALE!

Marx defined the epoch of the bourgeoisie and laid bare the direction of the Proletarian future. He analyzed Capitalism and defined the method of its doom: VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS OF CLASS OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION, REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLASS VIOLENCE

Every Black person knows that the wind may change at any given moment and that the Lynch Mob, made up of White members of the "Working Class", might come breathing down his neck if not kicking down his door. It is because of these factors that when we begin to talk about being Marxist-Leninists, we must be very careful to make it absolutely clear just what we are talking about.

On the subject of racism, Marxism-Leninism offers us very little assistance. In fact, there is much evidence that Marx and Engels were themselves racists -- just like their White brothers and sisters of their era, and just as many Marxist-Leninists of our own time are also racists.

Historically, Marxism-Leninism has been an outgrowth of European problems and it has been primarily preoccupied with finding solutions to European problems.

With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948 and the People's Republic of China in 1949, something new was injected into Marxism-Leninism, and it ceased to be just a narrow, exclusively European phenomenon. Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the classical principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in their own countries and thereby made the ideology into something useful for their people. But they rejected that part of the analysis that was not beneficial to them and had only to do with the welfare of Europe.

Given the racist history of the United States, it is very difficult for Black people to comfortably call themselves Marxist-Leninists or anything else that takes its name from White people. It's like praying to Jesus, a White man. We must emphasize the fact that Marx and Lenin didn't invent Socialism. They only added their contributions, enriching the doctrine, just as many others did before them and after them. And we must remember that Marx and Lenin didn't organize the Black Panther Party. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale did.

Not until we reach Fanon do we find a major Marxist-Leninist theoretician who was primarily concerned about the problems of Black people, wherever they may be found. And even Fanon, in his published works, was primarily focused on Africa. It is only indirectly that his works are beneficial to Afro-Americans. It is just easier to relate to Fanon because he is clearly free of that racist bias that blocks out so much about the Black man in the hands of Whites who are primarily interested in themselves and the problems of their own people. But even though we are able to relate heavily to Fanon, he has not given us the last word on applying the Marxist-Leninist analysis to our problems inside the United States. No one is going to do this for us because no one can. We have to do it ourselves, and until we do, we are going to be uptight.

We must take the teachings of Huey P. Newton as our foundation and go from there. Any other course will bring us to a sorry and regrettable end.

Fanon delivered a devastating attack upon Marxism-Leninism for its narrow preoccupation with Europe and

opens up the path to the future -- a future to which we must provide new ideological formulations to fit our ever changing situation.

Much -- most -- of the teachings of Huey P. Newton are unknown to the people because Huey has been placed in a position where it is impossible for him to really communicate with us. And much that he taught while he was free has gotten distorted and watered down precisely because the Black Panther Party has been too hung up in relating to the courts and trying to put on a good face in order to help lawyers convince juries of the justice of our cause. This whole court hang-up has created much confusion.

For instance, many people confuse the Black Panther Party with the Free Huey Movement or the many other mass activities that we have been forced to indulge in in order to build mass support for our comrades who have gotten captured by the pigs. We are absolutely correct in indulging in such mass activity. But we are wrong when we confuse our mass line with our party line.

Essentially, what Huey did was to provide the ideology and the methodology for organizing the Black Urban Lumpenproletariat. Armed with this ideological perspective and method, Huey transformed the Black lumpenproletariat from the forgotten people at the bottom of society into the vanguard of the proletariat.

There is a lot of confusion over whether we are members of the Working Class or whether we are Lumpenproletariat. It is necessary to confront this confusion, because it has a great deal to do with the strategy and tactics that we follow and with our strained relations with the White radicals from the oppressor section of Babylon.

Some so-called Marxist-Leninists will attack us for what we have to say, but that is a good thing and not a bad thing because some people call themselves Marxist-Leninists who are the downright enemies of Black people. Later for them. We want them to step boldly forward, as they will do -- blinded by their own stupidity and racist arrogance -- so that it will be easier for us to deal with them in the future.

We make these criticisms in a fraternal spirit of how some Marxist-Leninists apply the classical principles to the specific situation that exists in the United States because we believe in the need for a unified revolutionary movement in the United States, a movement that is informed by the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism. Huey P. Newton says that "power is the ability to define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner." And we need power, desperately, to counter the power of the pigs that now bears so heavily upon us.

Ideology is a comprehensive definition of a status quo that takes into account both the history and the future of that status quo and serves as the social glue that holds a people together and through which a people relate to the world and other groups of people in the world. The correct ideology is an invincible weapon against the oppressor in our struggle for freedom and liberation.

Capitalism and defined the method of its doom: VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS OF CLASS OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION. REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLASS VIOLENCE PERPETRATED THROUGH THE SPECIAL REPRESSIVE FORCE OF THE ARMED TENTACLES OF THE STATE.

This great definition by Marx and Engels became the mightiest weapon in the hands of oppressed people in the history of ideology. It marks a gigantic advance for all mankind. And since Marx's time, his definition has been strengthened, further elaborated, illumined, and further refined.

But Marxism has never really dealt with the United States of America. There have been some very nice attempts. People have done the best that they know how. However, in the past, Marxist-Leninists in the United States have relied too heavily upon foreign, imported analyses and have seriously distorted the realities of the American scene. We might say that the Marxism-Leninism of the past belongs to the gestation period of Marxism-Leninism in the United States, and that now is the time when a new, strictly American ideological synthesis will arise, springing up from the hearts and souls of the oppressed people inside Babylon, and uniting these people and hurling them mightily, from the force of their struggle, into the future. The swiftly developing revolution in America is like the gathering of a mighty storm, and nothing can stop that storm from finally bursting, inside America, washing away the pigs of the power structure and all their foul, oppressive works. And the children of the pigs and the oppressed people will dance and spit upon the common graves of these pigs.

There are some Black people in the United States who are absolutely happy, who do not feel themselves to be oppressed, and who think that they are free. Some even believe that the President wouldn't lie, and that he is more or less an honest man; that Supreme Court decisions were almost written by god in person; that the Police are Guardians of the Law; and that people who do not have jobs are just plain lazy and good-for nothing and should be severely punished. These are like crabs that must be left to boil a little longer in the pot of oppression before they will be ready and willing to relate. But the overwhelming majority of Black people are uptight, know that they are oppressed and not free; and they wouldn't believe Nixon if he confessed to being a pig; they don't relate to the Supreme Court or any other court; and they know that the racist pig cops are their sworn enemies. As for poverty, they know what it is all about.

These millions of Black people have no political representation, they are unorganized, and they do not own or control any of the natural resources; they neither own nor control any of the industrial machinery, and their daily life is a hustle to make it by any means necessary in the struggle to survive.

We must take the teachings of Huey P. Newton as our foundation and go from there. Any other course will bring us to a sorry and regrettable end.

Fanon delivered a devastating attack upon Marxism-Leninism for its narrow preoccupation with Europe and the affairs and salvation of White folks, while lumping all third world peoples into the category of the Lumpenproletariat and then forgetting them there; Fanon unearthed the category of the Lumpenproletariat and began to deal with it, recognizing that vast majorities of the colonized people fall into that category. It is because of the fact that Black people in the United States are also colonized that Fanon's analysis is so relevant to us.

After studying Fanon, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale began to apply his analysis of colonized people to Black people in the United States. They adopted the Fanonian perspective, but they gave it a uniquely Afro-American content.

Just as we must make the distinctions between the mother country and the colony when dealing with Black people and White people as a whole, we must also make this distinction when we deal with the categories of the Working Class and the Lumpenproletariat.

We have, in the United States, a "Mother Country Working Class" and a "Working Class from the Black Colony". We also have a Mother Country Lumpenproletariat and a Lumpenproletariat from the Black Colony. Inside the Mother Country, these categories are fairly stable, but when we look at the Black Colony, we find that the hard and fast distinctions melt away. This is because of the leveling effect of the colonial process and the fact that all Black people are colonized, even if some of them occupy favored positions in the schemes of the Mother Country colonizing exploiters.

There is a difference between the problems of the Mother Country Working Class and the Working Class from the Black Colony. There is also a difference between the Mother Country Lumpen and the Lumpen from the Black Colony. We have nothing to gain from trying to smooth over these differences as though they don't exist, because they are objective facts that must be dealt with. To make this point clear, we have only to look at the long and bitter history of the struggles of Black Colony Workers fighting for democracy inside Mother Country Labor Unions.

Historically, we have fallen into the trap of criticizing mother country labor unions and workers for the racism as an explanation for the way they treat Black workers. Of course, they are racist, but this is not the full explanation.

White workers belong to a totally different world than that of Black workers. They are caught up in a totally different economic, political, and social reality, and on

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ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

the basis of this distinct reality, the pigs of the power structure and treacherous labor leaders find it very easy to manipulate them with Babylonian racism.

This complex reality presents us with many problems, and only through proper analysis can these problems be solved. The lack of a proper analysis is responsible for the ridiculous approach to these problems that we find among Mother Country Marxist-Leninists. And their improper analysis leads them to advocate solutions that are doomed to failure in advance. The key area of the confusion has to do with falsely assuming the existence of one All-American Proletariat; one All-American Working Class; and one All-American Lumpenproletariat.

O.K. We are Lumpen. Right on. The Lumpenproletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society. That part of the "Industrial Reserve Army" held perpetually in reserve; who have never worked and never will; who can't find a job; who are unskilled and unfit; who have been displaced by machines, automation, and cybernation, and were never "retained or invested with new skills"; all those on Welfare or receiving State Aid.

Also the so-called "Criminal Element", those who live by their wits, existing off that which they rip off, who stick guns in the faces of businessmen and say 'stick'em up', or 'give it up'! Those who don't even want a job, who hate to work and can't relate to punching some pig's time clock, who would rather punch a pig in the mouth and rob him than punch that same pig's time clock and work for him, those whom Huey P. Newton calls "the illegitimate capitalists". In short, all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their rightful social heritage.

But even though we are Lumpen, we are still members of the Proletariat, a category which theoretically cuts across national boundaries but which in practice leaves something to be desired.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PROLETARIAT OF THE USA

In both the Mother Country and the Black Colony, the Working Class is the Right Wing of the Proletariat, and the Lumpenproletariat is the Left Wing. Within the Working Class itself, we have a major contradiction between the Unemployed and the Employed. And we definitely have a major contradiction between the Working Class and the Lumpen.

Some blind so-called Marxist-Leninists accuse the Lumpen of being parasites upon the Working Class. This is a stupid charge derived from reading too many of Marx's footnotes and taking some of his offhand scurrilous re-

marks for holy writ. In reality, it is accurate to say that the Working Class, particularly the American Working Class, is a parasite upon the heritage of mankind, of which the Lumpen has been totally robbed by the rigged system of Capitalism which in turn, has thrown the majority of mankind upon the junkheap while it buys off a percentage with jobs and security.

The Working Class that we must deal with today shows little resemblance to the Working Class of Marx's day. In the days of its infancy, insecurity, and instability, the Working Class was very revolutionary and carried forward the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But through long and bitter struggles, the Working Class has made some inroads into the Capitalist system, carving out a comfortable niche for itself. The advent of Labor Unions, Collective Bargaining, the Union Shop, Social Security, and other special protective legislation has castrated the Working Class, transforming it into the bought-off Labor Movement -- a most un-revolutionary, reformist minded movement that is only interested in higher wages and more job security. The Labor Movement has abandoned all basic criticism of the Capitalist system of exploitation itself. The George Meanys, Walter Reuthers, and A. Phillip Randolphs may correctly be labelled traitors to the proletariat as a whole, but they accurately reflect and embody the outlook and aspirations of the Working Class. The Communist Party of the United States of America, at its poorly attended meetings, may raise the roof with its proclamations of being the Vanguard of the Working Class, but the Working Class itself looks upon the Democratic Party as the legitimate vehicle of its political salvation.

As a matter of fact, the Working Class of our time has become a new industrial elite, resembling more the chauvinistic elites of the selfish craft and trade guilds of Marx's time than the toiling masses ground down in abject poverty. Every job on the market in the American Economy today demands as high a complexity of skills as did the jobs in the elite trade and craft guilds of Marx's time.

In a highly mechanized economy, it cannot be said that the fantastically high productivity is the product solely of the Working Class. Machines and computers are not members of the Working Class, although some spokesmen for the Working Class, particularly some Marxist-Leninists, seem to think like machines and computers.

The flames of revolution, which once raged like an inferno in the heart of the Working Class, in our day have dwindled into a flickering candle light, only powerful enough to bounce the Working Class back and forth like a ping pong ball between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party every four years, never once even glancing at the alternatives on the Left.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT?

Some Marxist-Leninists are guilty of that class egotism and hypocrisy often displayed by superior classes to those beneath them on the social scale. On the one hand, they freely admit that their organizations are specifically designed to represent the interests of the Working Class. But then they go beyond that to say that by representing the interests of the Working Class, they represent the interest of the Proletariat as a whole. This is clearly not true. This is a fallacious assumption based upon the egotism of these organizations and is partly responsible for their miserable failure to make a revolution in Babylon.

And since there clearly is a contradiction between the right wing and the left wing of the Proletariat, just as the right wing has created its own organizations, it is necessary for the left wing to have its form of organization to represent its interests against all hostile classes -- including the Working Class.

The contradiction between the Lumpen and the Working Class is very serious because it even dictates a different strategy and set of tactics. The students focus their rebellions on the campuses, and the Working Class focuses its rebellions on the factories and picket lines. But the Lumpen finds itself in the peculiar position of being unable to find a job and therefore is unable to attend the Universities. The Lumpen has no choice but to manifest its rebellion in the University of the Streets.

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NIGGER PIGS: CO-EXECUTIONERS

Bob Neil (26 years old) a worker for Doyle, Dane, and Bernbach Corporation, while on his lunch break with a friend of his, Will Ramos (21 years old) who also worked for the same company in advertising, had just entered Bryant Park when four pigs were taking four people in for possession of marijuana.

The brothers first didn't know that two of the pigs (niggers) were pigs because they didn't have uniforms on, and one had on a red black, and green liberation button. (trying to pretend and fool the people into thinking they were just like them only doing their job. But we still say a pig, is a pig, is a pig.)

Watching near by were two White girls, and Bob and Will went over to them to find out what was happening. While in the process of talking to the girls, the two nigger pigs came up to the brothers. The pig with the liberation button came directly up to Bob and hit him in the chest with the butt of his gun and started dragging him off to the pig sty. Never at any point did the pigs state that Bob or Will were under arrest, that they had any rights, nor did they show any I.D. But since these nigger pigs had the power of the gun over the brothers, they were able to get away with this foul game. This kind of thing could never have happened in a community where the people were able to defend themselves as they should according to their human rights.

This is not an unusual thing to happen to Black people. It is just another lesson to Black people in America, that it makes no difference what kind of so-called respectable position you are sitting in; it can be a very big paying position, such as the one that Bob and Will hold or it can be the job of a beggar of the streets. But to the pigs you are just another nigger and they could care less about your positions.

One thing that we must make special note of is that it is not always a White pig that will attack us. On the contrary, it may take the form of their lackeys, Black pigs. The power structure knows

that White people and White pigs especially have been generally declared the enemy of Black people, but that Afro-liberation button-wearing Black pig has a good chance of sneaking through and attacking his so-called brothers.

But just as the days of the White pigs are numbered, the days of the Black pigs who infiltrate the revolutionary groups posing as fellow liberators, but who in fact

act as co-executioners, as Brother Malcolm said, "are long gone too". These are without a doubt the scum of the earth who in an attempt to save their own skins will stoop to any level of boot-licking, including murder to serve the oppressor.

ARM YOURSELF OR HARM YOURSELF

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Lauryn Williams
Harlem Branch
Black Panther Party



Black brothers harassed by nigger pig



NIGGER PIGS DEFILE BRYANT PARK WITH VIOLENCE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

It's very important to recognize that the streets belong to the Lumpen, and that it is in the streets that the Lumpen will make their rebellion.

One outstanding characteristic of the liberation struggle of Black people in the United States has been that most of the activity has taken place in the streets. This is because, by and large, the rebellions have been spear-headed by Black Lumpen.

It is because of Black people's lumpen relationship to the means of production and the institutions of the society that they are unable to manifest their rebellion around those means of production and institutions. But this does not mean that the rebellions that take place in the streets are not legitimate expressions of an oppressed people. These are the means of rebellion left open to the Lumpen.

The Lumpen have been locked outside of the economy. And when the Lumpen does engage in direct action against the system of oppression, it is often greeted by hoots and howls from the spokesmen of the Working Class in chorus with the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie. These talkers like to put down the struggles of the Lumpen as being "spontaneous" (perhaps because they themselves did not order the actions!), "unorganized", and "chaotic and undirected". But these are only prejudiced analyses made from the narrow perspective of the Working Class. But the Lumpen moves anyway, refusing to be straight-jacketed or controlled by the tactics dictated by the conditions of life and the relationship to the means of production of the Working Class.

The Lumpen finds itself in the position where it is very difficult for it to manifest its complaints against the

system. The Working Class has the possibility of calling a strike against the factory and the employer and through the mechanism of Labor Unions they can have some arbitration or some process through which its grievances are manifested. Collective bargaining is the way out of the pit of oppression and exploitation discovered by the Working Class, but the Lumpen has no opportunity to do any collective bargaining. The Lumpen has no institutionalized focus in Capitalist society. It has no immediate oppressor except perhaps the Pig Police with which it is confronted daily.

So that the very conditions of life of the Lumpen dictates the so-called spontaneous reactions against the system, and because the Lumpen is in this extremely oppressed condition, it therefore has an extreme reaction against the system as a whole. It sees itself as being bypassed by all of the organizations, even by the Labor Unions, and even by the Communist Parties that despise it and look down upon it and consider it to be, in the words of Karl Marx, the father of Communist Parties, "The Scum Layer of the Society". The Lumpen is forced to create its own forms of rebellion that are consistent with its condition in life and with its relationship to the means of production and the institutions of society. That is, to strike out at all the structures around it, including at the reactionary Right Wing of the Proletariat when it gets in the way of revolution.

The faulty analyses which the ideologies of the Working Class have made, of the true nature of the Lumpen, are greatly responsible for the retardation of the development of the revolution in urban situations. It can be said that the true revolutionaries in the urban centers of the world have been analyzed out of the revolution by some Marxist-Leninists.

AVARICIOUS BUSINESSMEN STEALING FROM THE CHILDREN



THE MUCH-NEEDED MEAL-BREAKFAST

One of the Party's programs is feeding school children every morning before they go to school. This is done through the Free Breakfast for School Children Program one of our many methods of meeting the basic needs and desires of the Black community. Now, the only way that this can be done is by getting donations from the many avaricious businessmen, who normally exploit the people everyday. The stores that they own are in the community stealing from the people, with high prices, and poor quality goods.

Key Foods, Finast, and A&P food stores are the very same stores that are located in the Black community that rob the people blind. None of these stores donate to the Breakfast Program, their story is always the same; 'We can't do it without permission from the Manager.' So you go through all the changes of send-

ing letters to the managers, and you get no reply. They make it very obvious that they don't give a damn about feeding hungry Black children.

Key Foods is located on Northern Blvd. and 104th St. here in Corona. A&P and Finast are located on Junction Blvd. These stores refuse to help feed the children, therefore, the people should stop shopping at these stores. If these greedy vultures can't even make an attempt to give something back to the people that they rob day after day, then we are just going to have to see to it that their 'Big Businesses' make a much smaller profit.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Black Panther Party

Corona, N.Y.
Breakfast Coordinator
Corliss

THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT CONFERENCE AFFIRMED THE NEED FOR ARMED SELF DEFENSE

My study of the 400 year old liberation struggle of Black people in America revealed at least two major shortcomings: 1.) a lack of unified action based on a singularity of purpose (the only relevant purpose is liberation) and 2.) the absence of a wholeistic analysis that would not only define our struggle and its stages of development but also would serve as a guide to action.

To say that "We must liberate

ourselves" or that "we need revolution, while we all close with, "All power to the people", may sound good and make us feel good, but it doesn't mean that we have cleared away all of our differences (real or imagined). There is no getting around it, there are real contradictions that exist among Black people in the Black colony.

At the recent Black Student Revolutionary Conference (held from

A few weeks ago a survey was taken among the people of Cherry Hill to determine if the people who lived in Cherry Hill needed a Free Breakfast Program, situated in the Black Community. This program would be set up to ensure our children a properly balanced breakfast before they go to school.

99% of the residents who were questioned felt there was a definite need for this type of program in our community.

Whenever a program like this is set up in our communities two things always have to be taken into consideration; first, location in most cities is in churches, owned property or in someone's home who lives in the community. The other consideration is procurement of food, we feel to be a lesser problem. So, I will try to explain the first hang up.

LOCATION

The only locations in Cherry Hill that are capable of feeding 300 to 400 hungry children each day are in the churches that are situated in Cherry Hill. There are five that could be used for this program. Because Community Service Programs were being operated in two of these (St. Veronica's and Cherry Hill Presbyterian), we concentrated on the other three. We approached Rev. Sanders

of the Apostolic and explained the Free Breakfast Program to him. (Rev. Sanders had just given a sermon about brotherly love and helping each other.) He listened and flatly refused to have anything to do with the program. We approached Rev. Allen and the program was explained to him and he promised to call a meeting of the church board to have them decide. This was almost two months ago. Since then I called and talked to him. The only insult is that he has again told me he has to call a board meeting. The last so-called minister of God's word we approached was Rev. Allen of First Baptist Church. The program was explained to him and he thought it was a good idea. At first he told me he would have to speak to the Board of Directors of the church, he also pointed out that the church had unused property across the street from the church. But the use of the property, depended on the okay of the church membership and a Mrs. Bundy of the Church Cherry Hill Co-ordinating Committee. As I went to speak to some of the Church Deacons, Rev. Allen went into his office, when he returned he asked me how many times a month I would need the church property. I explained to him the children have to be fed every day. He then told

me that he could not relate to the Free Breakfast Program because he thought it would only be once in a while, like once a month. I tried to explain to him that children are hungry every day and not just once a month, but he refused to have anything to do with the program. We must admit that we have been lied too, stalled, refused on this first step of the instituting of the Free Breakfast Program. But in the same breath we will also admit that we will not stop trying to institute this program to serve the needs of our people.

We will not be stopped by tin-horn preachers who say one thing on Sunday morning and do something contrary Sunday night. All people who realize the seriousness of this situation must help in this struggle to procure location for the Free Breakfast Program.

WE MUST BUILD OUR YOUTH TO
BUILD THEIR FUTURE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Maryland Chapter
1248 N. Gay Street
342-8536
William Coates

May 16 through May 19 in New Haven, Connecticut.) during the Sunday evening panel discussion it was pointed out that one of the major contradictions that plagues at least one segment (student past and present) of the Black colony exist between Revolutionary Nationalism on the one hand and Cultural Nationalism on the other. To a large extent this is the primary contradiction that separates the proponents of what is too loosely termed "Black Nationalism". The panel was conducted by Doug Miranda with Masai Hewitt, Elaine Brown, Dharuba and a student from U.C.L.A.. Members of the panel opened the discussion with short statements concerning the nature of Revolutionary Nationalism and Cultural Nationalism and then turned the discussion over to the audience for questions and comments.

Throughout the discussion some of the specific differences between Cultural Nationalism and Revolutionary Nationalism were clearly amplified and crystallized. It was found that the main difference lies in their respective attitudes toward armed struggle and peaceful coexistence. Cultural Nationalist, such as members of the US organization, feel that electoral politics and quasi-coalitions with the right wing officials (Like Leroy Jones in Newark) will yield some benefits for Black people.

Revolutionary Nationalist, such as members of the Black Panther Party, realize that electoral politics can only serve to educate the people to the fallacy of bourgeois democracy. To believe that change is possible through the electoral process is to affirm the existing political system by attributing to it a flexibility that allows for a meaningful change. To do this is to deny the need for revolution. Revolutionary Nationalist have no affirmative words or thoughts concerning the existing political system and its ability to bring about meaningful change. They conclude that the present political system is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (the economic ruling class, such as the Rockefellers, the Melons, the DuPonts, the primary owners of the United Fruit Co, Dow Chemical Co, etc. and all of its political lackeys such as Nixon, Agnew, Reagan, etc.) which work first and foremost, in the interest of the economic ruling class. Any residual benefits received by Black people are purely coincidental, and

should only be looked upon as sampling of the many benefits that Black people could enjoy the state power which now oppresses them, was seized, reorganized, collectively controlled and mutually beneficial. Revolutionary Nationalist see this as obtainable only after the bourgeois state power has been smashed through armed struggle.

Another major difference between Cultural Nationalists and Revolutionary Nationalists lies in the varied interpretation of the term "meaningful change". To Cultural Nationalists "meaningful change", means eliminating all the oppressed Whites 1.) avaricious businessmen 2.) demagogic politicians and 3.) pig police. Their solution is to substitute Whites



ROLAND YOUNG

with Blacks. They feel that the present social, political and economic relationships that presently exist within capitalist, imperialist and fascist America are lacking only to the extent that the present rulers are the White pigs in Brook Brothers suits with growing sideburns as opposed to Black pigs in dashikis with growing naturals. This is the case of stressing the color of the form while ignoring the relevance of the content.

Revolutionary Nationalists assert that power grows out of a barrel of a gun and not out of the sleeve of a dashiki. Revolutionary Nationalist stress the need not only for Black people to place themselves in positions of power, socially, politically, economically, but also the need for Black people to make sure that the position of power is one which is not controlled by a few Black exploiting capitalist for the benefit of an elite Black ruling class, but rather a position of power which is shared collectively by all Black people. There is also the need for security and international relations in all fields of state activity. These relationships must be dependent upon the comradly cooperation of Africa, Asia and Latin America as opposed to the imperialist relationships which

now exist if the present economic system is only going to change the color of its administrators rather than the nature of its administration.

Another difference which exists between the two "Black Nationalists wings is the one over the question of culture. Cultural Nationalist place a lot of stress on abstract symbols of bastardized form of culture which was conjured up in the heads of the petty bourgeois Blacks (primarily students) who were alienated from the indigenous culture of Blacks in America. To stress pseudo-African dress, hair styles, names and Swahili while ignoring, Jimmy Reed, Lightnin' Hopkins, Cecil Taylor, John Coltrane, Nappy Konks, chittlins and all other cultural manifestations of Blacks in America is had enough within itself, but to stress cultural adaptations as the road to freedom is to misguide Black people.

An examination of the conditions under which Black people have been forced to live, lack of decent housing, education, and proper medical care specifically and an overall general lack of power over all aspects of their lives, which purely and simply means a lack of freedom, points to the need for something much more far reaching than a phony abstract culture in order to bring about Black liberation. Black people have suffered economic exploitation at the hands of the avaricious businessmen, political rape at the hands of the demagogic politicians and brutality and murder at the hands of pig police who back up all this oppression with the force of a gun. This is the trinity of oppression under which Black people have suffered, are suffering and will suffer at the yoke of the oppressor until they decide once and for all that they will free themselves by any means necessary. This necessarily means moving against the armed aggressor with the armed might and wrath of the Black colony. Only through the arms of the people can the arms of the oppressor be nullified. Through the taking of the heads of the oppressor, the people shall obtain the reins of power. Power to the people must not only mean the elimination of the power of the pigs but the elimination of the pigs themselves.

For Revolutionary Nationalists the only culture that has any relevance is revolutionary culture. If a culture of a people is merely

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ATTENTION:

TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY

We have been informed by members of the community that the house located at 13 Jefferson Avenue, (next to Saint Peter Cleavers) has been vacant for some time and drug traffic has been seen in and around the building. The owner has shown complete neglect for the community by not properly securing the house. As members of the community we have taken it upon ourselves to make something constructive for the community. The house will be a Community Information Center it will be used for a Free Health Clinic to serve the people, a Free Breakfast for School Children Program and other community needs. We are here to serve and work with the people of the community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Brooklyn Branch

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 465-5047 (48, (49), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

Their Newspaper Isn't Allowed In

Returning from San Francisco on Friday, Feb. 13, five copies of the newspaper The Black Panther and one Panther poster were confiscated from this writer's baggage by a customs official at the Montreal International Airport.

Pointing to the front page of one newspaper, which had the word "revolutionary" in its headline, the official explained that the material was classified by the government as hate literature. He was told that the newspapers were needed for an article in Weekend, but he refused to return them, and would say only that they would be sent to the Collector of Customs in Montreal and after that to Ottawa.

After several phone calls and letters to various government offices in Montreal and Ottawa, in which it was pointed out that the seizure constituted interference with the freedom of the press to print whatever it sees fit, the newspapers and poster were returned on Feb. 20 by J. E. Charette, whose letter is reprinted here.

Huey would say, "a newspaper is the voice of a party, the voice of the Panther must be heard throughout the land."

The line dividing the progressive people from the machinery of oppression is ever widening as the people begin to realize that there can no longer be a middle of the road position with regards to freedom for the people of the world; however, it has only been within the past four years that the ameriKKkan people have shed their rose-colored glasses and patriotic blinders to face the reality of what their country was doing to the world's population. With the realization of the ameriKKkan role came the closer examination of all the things that had really never been questioned before...the 'ameriKKkan dream', the foreign policy, the treatment of minority peoples within this society, the real role of the 'police' and the press.

We found we as citizens of this country were being kept duped by the government and kept misinformed by the mass media.

In an effort to give the facts to the people, the so-called 'underground press' developed with various groups setting up newspapers and magazines with differing emphasis.

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service was created to present factual, reliable information to the people.

The Black Panther Party has been organized to serve the needs of the people of the Black community and to educate and politicize the masses of Black people, but the Black Panther Party realizes that racism can only be eliminated by solidarity among oppressed people and the educating of all the people. It is the news and problems of Black and oppressed people in ameriKKka that are dealt with in the Black Panther along with international news.

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service is the alternative to the 'government ap-



July 1967--Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton (right) and Chairman, Bobby Seale (left), reading an early edition of B.P.P. Newspaper at the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information B.P.P.

proved' stories presented in the mass media and the product of an effort to present the facts not stories as dictated by the oppressor, but as seen from the other end of a gun.

ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE!

SEIZE THE TIME!

Enter my subscription for (check box):	National Subscriptions	Foreign Subscriptions
3 MONTHS: (13 ISSUES)	☐ \$2.50	\$9.00
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ONE YEAR: (52 ISSUES)	☐ \$7.50	\$15.00

(please print)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE/ZIP # _____ COUNTRY _____

PLEASE MAIL CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO: MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY

STUDENT CONFERENCE AFFIRMED

THE NEED FOR ARMED SELF DEFENSE

the way they live then the true test of the relevance of that culture is the effectiveness of its ability to cause a people to live in the least oppressive and most free manner possible. A culture that stresses dress, hair styles

and language while ignoring arms will crumble at the armed onslaught of the oppressor and as a result that culture will be deemed irrelevant by the people who are fighting for their liberation. On the other hand a culture which

stresses the gun will be able to inflict a political consequence upon any pig who decides to oink in the face of the people. This culture will be welcomed by a struggling people because it will provide them with the prerequisite for survival and in the final analysis all life is naturally geared toward reproduction and perpetuation. A culture which provides the people with this prerequisite will be deemed not only relevant but absolutely necessary.

The Revolutionary Black Student Conference affirmed totally the need for armed revolutionary struggle. It also exposed the right wing of the Black Student movement which is but one aspect of the whole liberation movement) to be manifested in Revolutionary Nationalism (just as Eldridge Cleaver exposed the left and right wing of the proletariat in his pamphlet, "On The Ideology Of The Black Panther Party). The existence of this contradiction should not be looked upon as freakish or unnatural but rather as a dialectically natural contradictory development. The left wing serves the interest of the people and is revolutionary whereas, the right wing represents the forces of oppression and counter revolution.

In summary, the conference affirmed and revealed the following things: the need for revolutionary armed struggle and the crystallization of the contradictory trends among the Black student movement. It was a realization of the maturity of the Black Panther Party, a segment of Black students and the overall liberation movement. Let this be a corner stone of the armed Black liberation struggle which Black and all oppressed people are bound to win.

ARMED POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Roland Young

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE
CUSTOMS AND EXCISE

MINISTÈRE DU REVENU NATIONAL
DOUANES ET ACCISE

REGISTERED

Mr. William Spencer,
Copy Editor, Weekend Magazine,
231 St. James Street West,
Montreal 126, Quebec.

Ottawa 2,
February 20, 1970.

Dear Mr. Spencer:

I have your letter of February 17 to Mr. Hawkins of our Seizures Division concerning five copies of the Newspaper "The Black Panther" and one poster which were removed from your luggage on your arrival at the Montreal International Airport on February 13.

Of the five issues of this newspaper one has been previously referred to the Department and has been found to offend against the Tariff Item prohibiting the importation of seditious material (99201-1). It is quite likely that the other four would also be found to be in the same category.

In consideration of the purpose for which these newspapers are required they are being released to you but we would ask that they not be used for any other purpose than for research for your proposed story and that no distribution or circulation of them be permitted. After they have served their purpose it would be desirable that they be destroyed or returned to us.

We regret the inconvenience this incident may have caused you but I am sure you will appreciate that the Customs official involved was carrying out his duties in accordance with departmental instructions.

Yours truly,

J. E. Charette
J. E. Charette,
Director, Financial and
Management Services.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

INTERVIEW OF PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED FRONT OF CAMBODIA

Questions: Wilfred BURCHETT
Answers: Norodom SIHANOUK

BURCHETT: Prince Norodom Sihanouk, now that the government of national union has been formed, and has been recognized by People's China, have other countries recognized it, and do you have the assurance that other countries will recognize the new government?

SIHANOUK: A few minutes after I got the recognition from China, I got the recognition from North Korea, and in the following days I am going to get, I know it, the recognition of many countries, mainly from Africa. In Africa we have the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Sudan, Yemen, Tanzania I think also. Elsewhere there are Albania, Rumania, etc...so, about 20 countries will recognize us and I think that later, certainly, the USSR and the East European countries will recognize us.

BURCHETT: What do you consider is the principal source of your support inside the country itself?

SIHANOUK: The mass, the Buddhist mass, also the peasants, the people in the provinces and the workers, they are in their immense majority for me, supporting me as their traditional leader and as their representative who defends national independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

BURCHETT: If you have the Buddhist hierarchy and the Buddhist monks and the peasantry, then you have the greater part of the country?

SIHANOUK: Yes, I think so, and the honest press correspondents, Western press correspondents, recognize that now many people join the United Front of Cambodia, of which I am the President.

BURCHETT: Does the fact that you are in exile here, and the government has been formed abroad, does this create difficulties for relations with the resistance movement inside the country?

SIHANOUK: You know, we formed the government at the request of people inside Cambodia, of the "Maquisards", the resistance movement of Cambodia, and the leading members of the government are in the resistance in Cambodia: HOU-YUON, HU-NIM, KHIUE-SAMPHAN, they are the Cambodia: HOU-YUON, HU-NIM, KHIUE-SAMPHAN, they are the three main members of the government, so we can say that our government is rooted in the soil of Cambodia. As for myself, I have an immense nostalgia for my homeland. I am very anxious to go back to Cambodia, but the "Maquisards" have told me that



President Ton Duc Thang (right), and Premier Pham Van Dong (left), graciously receive Prince Norodom Sihanouk of the United Front of Cambodia (center).

I had to fulfill some duties in the diplomatic field; that it would be very helpful to the cause of our people in Cambodia, and that only later they will allow me to join them.

BURCHETT: What are your reactions to the invasions of Cambodia by the U.S. and Saigon troops?

SIHANOUK: It does not surprise me, because the aim of the coup d'etat which took place in Phnom-Penh on the 18th of March 1970 was to open the door of independent and neutral Cambodia to invasion and occupation by the Americans and their mercenaries, because according to the so-called "domino theory" they want to occupy Cambodia to strengthen the other dominoes, in order to avoid their falling.

BURCHETT: General Lon Nol has stated that he had not asked for this invasion, was not even informed about this invasion, and I think President Nixon said on May the 5th that the attack was really to defend Cambodian neutrality?

SIHANOUK: Since Nixon decided to defend our neutrality, it no longer exists, and our independence is wiped out. As far as Lon Nol is concerned, you know that his capital city was already surrounded by the liberation army of

the Cambodian people, and without the intervention of the U.S.A., today we should be in Phnom-Penh and not in Peking. So, Lon Nol secretly invited the Americans to come in, not to defend neutrality of Cambodia, but to defend his shaky regime.

BURCHETT: The pretext given for the invasion to the outside world, and also the official reason given for the coup d'etat was the alleged presence of NFL and North Vietnamese troops on Cambodian soil. Would you care to comment on that?

SIHANOUK: You know, when we had independence we also had neutrality, and now we are a colony of the Americans and we are occupied by 65,000 South Vietnamese troops, mercenaries of the Americans. They deposed me in March under the pretext that I allowed the Vietcong and the Vietminh to occupy Cambodia, but the Vietcong and the Vietminh came into Cambodia only out of necessity, strategic or tactical, during the course of their fight to liberate their homeland of South Vietnam. Even when they were in Cambodia they looked toward Saigon, all their efforts directed toward their desire to liberate Saigon. They did not look at us, and they had already recognized the frontiers of Cambodia. In the future, after their victory, they will not change

the frontiers of Cambodia, they are not a threat to Cambodia. On the contrary, the Saigon government is a threat to Cambodia since it refuses to recognize our frontiers because they want to take from us some provinces, Svay Rieng for instance which is now occupied by the forces of General Nguyen Cao Ky, and they also want to take from us some offshore islands.

BURCHETT: How do you see the outcome of the present, grave crisis in Cambodia?

SIHANOUK: In accordance with the currents of history, victory will go to the peoples of Southeast Asia who want their countries liberated from Western colonialism and neo-colonialism, and all forms of American imperialism and colonialism. I think that our future as Asians cannot remain in the hands of the Americans. Our future will belong to us. I am optimistic as far as the outcome of our fight is concerned.

BURCHETT: The British Foreign Secretary, Mrs. Stewart, on May the 5th, suggested holding another Geneva conference to discuss Indo-China. Do you think this would be useful?

SIHANOUK: It would not be useful. On the contrary it would be an encouragement to the Americans to spread their war, not only in Indo-China but in Southeast Asia. There is no problem except that created by the U.S. alone. They are the only great power to violate the Geneva agreements signed in 1954 in order to give peace, independence and stability to our region of the world. The Americans came into Indo-China and sent their forces to destroy our peace and our independence, guaranteed by Great Britain, France and the USSR, so I think that Great Britain should request of the United States of America to withdraw their forces from Indochina. The problem would then be solved, we do not need to go to any international conference.

BURCHETT: Could you say something about the summit conference which you took part in recently, together with Premier Pham Van Dong of North Viet-Nam, and leaders of the South Vietnamese Liberation Front and the Pathet Lao?

SIHANOUK: Before the coming of the French colonialists last century in Indo-China the so-called Indochinese countries did not exist. There were Annam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Laos and Cambodia. We were separate from each other. It was France that made Indochina, uniting us in a federation, but our peoples soon wanted to get back from the French the

national independence of their homelands. They had to be in solidarity with each other to enhance their chances for national independence. When the Japanese fascists came into Cambodia during the Second World War, our three peoples also had to resist the invader, to this created the starting point of a solidarity of Indochinese peoples, and that solidarity was strengthened by the U.S. invasion in South Vietnam. Now, the U.S. forces aggress also Laos, North Vietnam and my country, and we need to fight, we need to liberate our countries from foreigners. Being conscious of our weakness as a small, poor people, having to fight against a giant, very rich and very powerful, with enormous military strength, it is necessary for us to unite our forces and to cooperate closely with each other in order to win. If we want victory we must do so, it might take a long time, but as I said, we are optimistic as far as final victory is concerned.

BURCHETT: General Lon Nol has repeatedly stated that he was about to abolish the monarchy; he's not done that yet, and I wonder if you have any idea why he's not done it?

SIHANOUK: You know already he does not have solid ground as far as diplomatic recognition of his regime is concerned; there are 3 or 4 countries recognizing his anti-popular regime, and the other embassies do not represent countries whose government would recognize Lon Nol. He feels it is good to keep these embassies in order to show observers that he has the support of many countries. If he is to change the monarchy into a republic he needs far more recognitions of his regime by all the countries. Right now he has support of only 3 or 4 countries and the others would withdraw. He was advised by some Western jurist, I think, and that's why he postponed his plans for wiping out the monarchy.

BURCHETT: So, in fact, you will have greater diplomatic recognition, you think, in a short time, than is accorded to Lon Nol, and he will have even less if he changes the type of government to set up a new kind of regime which requires fresh recognition?

SIHANOUK: I shall have certainly much more recognition from the outside world than Lon Nol can ever have for his regime. But finally you know it will be the fighting in Cambodia which will decide whether Lon Nol or the United Front represents Cambodia in the future.

Transcribed for ESCOM
24 rue de la Reynie
75 Paris 1e, France

ORIGINAL

PAR LEUR ATTITUDE FANATIQUEMENT PRO-ISRAËLIENNE

Les Etats-Unis portent de très graves responsabilités dans la détérioration de la situation au Moyen-Orient

déclare notre ministre des Affaires étrangères

Voici la déclaration faite par M. Bouffekka, ministre des Affaires étrangères :

« L'Algérie, qui n'a cessé de vivre et de ressentir la tragédie que traversent nos frères dans le Machrek Arabe a accueilli M. Labib Choukeur, président de l'Assemblée nationale et membre du Comité exécutif de l'Union Socialiste Arabe, qui était porteur d'un message du président Djamel Abdel Nasser au Président Houari Boumediène sur les graves développements que connaît la situation dans cette région.

« L'Algérie qui a mis toutes ses potentialités au service du peuple palestinien et des Etats arabes dans leur affrontement avec l'ennemi sioniste apprécie, en toute objectivité, la gravité de la situation et les conditions dangereuses créées par la fourniture d'armes modernes et meurtrières par les U.S.A. à Israël. Ces armes, dont les peuples arabes seront inévitablement les victimes, sont destinées, tout comme le soutien économique et financier prodigué par les U.S.A., à perpétuer l'occupation des territoires arabes par Israël, et à poursuivre l'agression contre ces peuples dans une tentative désespérée de les acculer à la capitulation.

« Nul doute que les U.S.A. portent de très graves responsabilités dans la détérioration de la situation dans la région par leur engagement manifeste aux côtés d'Israël, sous prétexte d'établir un certain équilibre des forces comme si cet équilibre devait exister entre agresseur et agressé.

« En effet, si Israël n'avait pas une supériorité militaire dépassant ses propres possibilités, et s'il ne jouissait pas du soutien total des Etats-Unis, il ne serait jamais en mesure d'occuper les territoires arabes, de continuer à défier l'opinion internationale, l'Organisation des Nations unies, ainsi que les droits de l'homme et de poursuivre une politique expansionniste au détriment des Etats de la région.

« D'aucuns ont cru que les intérêts importants des U.S.A. dans les pays arabes leur dicteraient de suivre une politique moins engagée à l'égard d'Israël et beaucoup plus dirigée vers le renforcement de la paix dans la région. une paix qui ne peut qu'être basée sur la justice et le respect des droits des peuples et de leur liberté.

« Cependant l'attitude fanatique-pro-israélienne des U.S.A. à l'égard du sionisme les empêche d'accomplir toute action positive pour l'instauration d'une paix juste qui permettra au peuple palestinien et aux pays arabes de recouvrer leurs droits légitimes.

« La fourniture d'armes offensives par les Etats-Unis à Israël constitue un facteur décisif dans la détérioration de la situation et met la paix mondiale en danger.

« L'Algérie se considère, malgré la distance qui la sépare de cette région, entièrement engagée aux côtés de ses frères, quelle que soit la situation qu'ils traversent, et entend œuvrer aux succès de leurs causes qui sont en même temps les siennes. Elle communique avec eux dans leur juste lutte pour la liberté et la dignité, respectant ainsi les droits de la fraternité et les exigences de la communauté du destin ».



" IN OUR NATIVE LAND, IN DEFENCE OF THE FREEDOM WHICH IS OUR BIRTHRIGHT, AND WHICH WE ENJOYED TILL THE LATE VIOLATION OF IT... FOR THE PROTECTION OF OUR PROPERTY, ACQUIRED SOLELY BY THE HONEST INDUSTRY OF OUR FOREFATHERS AND OURSELVES AGAINST VIOLENCE ACTUALLY OFFERED, WE HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS. WE SHALL LAY THEM DOWN WHEN HOSTILITIES SHALL CEASE ON THE PART OF THE AGGRESSORS AND NOT BEFORE."

AMERICAN DECLARATION OF THE
CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF TAKING UP
ARMS (1775)

TRANSLATION

BY THEIR FANATICALLY PRO-ISRAELI ATTITUDE

The United States bears great responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East

declares our Minister of Foreign Affairs

Here is the statement made by Mr. Bouffekka, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"Algeria which is still feeling the tragedy of our brothers in the Arab Machrek welcomed Mr. Labib Choukeur, President of the National Assembly, and member of the Executive Committee of the Arab Socialist Union. Mr. Choukeur brought with him a message from President Djamel Abdel Nasser for President Houari Boumediène on the serious developments of the situation in the Middle East.

"Algeria, which has given all of her potential to the Palestinian people and the Arab states in their conflict with the Zionist enemy is aware of the gravity of the situation and the dangerous conditions which are the result of the U.S. supplying modern lethal weapons to Israel. These weapons whose victims will inevitably be the Arab people are destined, just like the economic and financial support of the U.S. to perpetuate the occupation of Arab territories by Israel, and to continue the aggression a-

gainst the Arab peoples in a desperate attempt to make them capitulate.

"There is no doubt that the U.S. bears grave responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East by its open commitment to the Israeli side, under the pretext of establishing equilibrium of forces, as if equilibrium should exist between the aggressor and the side being aggressed against.

"The fact is that if Israel didn't have military superiority which beyond her own possibilities, and if she didn't benefit from the total support of the U.S., she would never be capable of occupying Arab territories, of defying international opinion, the United Nations, the rights of man, nor of continuing an expansionist policy to the detriment of the States in that region (area).

"Some people believed that the U.S. important interests in the Arab countries would force her to follow a less heavily committed policy towards Israel, to follow a policy more directed towards estab-

lishing peace in the area, peace based on justice and respect for the rights and freedom of the people.

"However, the U.S. fanatically pro-Israeli attitude towards Zionism is preventing the U.S. from accomplishing any positive action which would allow the Palestinian and Arab peoples to regain their legitimate rights.

"The fact that the U.S. is supplying Israel with offensive weapons constitutes a decisive factor in the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, and is endangering world peace.

"In spite of the distance which separates her from the Middle East, Algeria considers herself totally committed with her brothers. Algeria will fight for the success of her brothers' causes which are her own. Algeria is with them in their just struggle for freedom and dignity, respecting the rights of fraternity, and the community's needs for its destiny."

TRANSLATED FROM ElMoudjahid



October 1966

Black Panther Party

Platform and Program

What We Want

What We Believe



*Huey P. Newton Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party*

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



GUNS



"Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetrated against them by the armed, racist, power structure."

Huey P. Newton



Chairman Bobby Seale, and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 1048 PERALTA ST. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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HUEY P. NEWTON

Political Prisoner:
Chairman
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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER



**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A MASS
RALLY AND NATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE
TO ANNOUNCE DATE AND PLACE OF
REVOLUTIONARY
PEOPLE'S
CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION**

Lincoln Memorial Washington, D.C. June 19, 1970

For Further Information
Contact NCCF
2327 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 265-4418 - 4419

The Shackling like a Slave of Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale is like the Reincarnation of Dred Scott 1857. This Brazen Violation of Bobby Seale's Constitutional Rights Exposes Without a Doubt that Black People have No Rights That The Racist Oppressor Is Bound To Respect. 



"Huey P. Newton's thoughts, like his action is clear and precise, cutting always to the very heart of the matter."

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

KIM IL SUNG

LET US EMBODY
MORE THOROUGHLY
THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF
INDEPENDENCE, SELF-SUSTENANCE
AND SELF-DEFENCE IN ALL FIELDS
OF STATE ACTIVITY

NEW WORLD
LIBERATION FRONT
U.S.A.
1970

"Our People's Army should be built up into a revolutionary force equipped with the indefatigable spirit of fighting through thick and thin for the Party, the working class and for the fatherland and the people, into an iron army each member of which is a match for one hundred enemies, capable of smiting any reckless adventure of the enemy."

Comrade Kim Il Sung

CAPITALISM PLUS DOPE EQUALS GENOCIDE

By Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor (Political Prisoner, NY 21)
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, U.S.A.



"Drug addiction is a monstrous symptom of the malignancy which is ravaging the social fabric of the capitalist system."

Michael Tabor
N.Y. 21



"This means all of us have this power. But the power only belongs to all of us, not just some or one, but all. And that was the trick. That was the thing we never understood. And that is what statement these songs make."

Elaine Brown



"We have to use the only power that we have left and that's the power to destroy, the power to disrupt, the power to throw a nigger - wrench into the machinery."

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

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| .75 | The Genius of Huey P. Newton |
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"BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY ,
UNLESS YOU GOT SOMETHING BETTER"

